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CSSR's Klaus on CEMA's Future

AU0801101190 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 4 Jan 90 pp 1,5

[Interview with CSSR Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus by RZECZPOSPOLITA reporters Krzysztof Bien and Piotr Wyrwicz in Warsaw on 3 January: "Today Is Not 1968"]

[Text] [RZECZPOSPOLITA] You have been finance minister for almost 1 month. How do you view the state of the Czechoslovak economy?

[Klaus] By world standards, it is not ideal. However, we have a much better basis than some East European countries. This is for two reasons. First of all, our domestic imbalance is lower. The rate of inflation is very low, and not just because our prices are quite stable. However, we do have a foreign imbalance; in other words, the so-called foreign debts are lower than in any other country in the Eastern bloc, except, of course, Romania. The situation is not ideal, but the starting position is quite good.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] What are your economic objectives?

[Klaus] I would differentiate between long-term and short-term objectives. In the short term, we must not allow any kind of populist guarantees that would considerably worsen our starting position, cause inflation to rise, and create economic chaos.

The basic objective in the immediate future is to defend our good position and to oppose any hasty actions or decisions such as the ones made by the foreign minister, who opened up the border with Austria, which caused a flow of tourists in both directions and resulted in the buying up of goods in the shops.

As far as the future is concerned, then, of course, the basic objective is a market economy. However, we cannot revert to proposals that were all right in 1968, for example, Professor Ota Sik's idea of a "mixed economy," or "socialism with a human face." Today is not 1968; it is more like 1948.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] What do you think are the chances of introducing a market economy?

[Klaus] I believe we will succeed. The experience of other countries, including Poland, which I visit frequently, will be helpful in this. I perceive the merits of what you are doing, but we also observe errors from which we would like to dissociate ourselves. We cannot abandon macroeconomic control; we cannot permit the kind of inflation that there is in Poland or anywhere else. That is our main task.

Apart from that, we see the problem slightly differently. The poor results of the past 10 years are mainly the fault of our planners. I would describe our economy as "swaying" ["rozchwiana"], with very bad prices and a monopolistic structure. Our main idea involves demonopolization. However, I am firmly against the epithet of decentralization, beneath which many of the attempts at reform in East Europe have taken place. That would signify a loss of all central control, including the control that is necessary.

Instead, we prefer to proceed toward demonopolization, a breakup of artificial monopolies. A very restrictive monetary and fiscal policy is the way to achieve that. However, at the same time we will try to act by means of antimonopolist legislation, so that new economic units, private enterprises, appear on the market.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] With uninhibited activity?

[Klaus] We do not want to do more than what is necessary.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] You have a problem that Poland does not have. You have two peoples and a disproportionate relationship between their development.

[Klaus] I do not think this Czech-Slovak problem is as dramatic as that, although I must admit I receive many letters. I have had four from Slovakia recently, and they were very critical. I was accused of using the expression "Czech money" in my television speech, though I know nothing about it. So I had to explain that my wife is Slovak and that I travel to Slovakia every year.

Therefore, I think the beginnings of a problem exist, but the situation really is not as drastic as it seems. Why? Because Slovakia's economy has received very much support in recent years, thanks to which in some spheres it has achieved the same level as in the Czech lands. All in all, Slovakia has more modern plants today, but I regret to say that its economy is worse. However, I hope we will manage to solve this problem.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] Everyone is saying that CEMA is not fulfilling its tasks. What do you think is the future for our integration?

[Klaus] One has to ask oneself whether there ever was a CEMA integration at all. We said a lot about this during today's meeting with Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz. I think we both have similar views of this problem.

As you know, a CEMA session attended by premiers, foreign ministers, and finance ministers takes place in Sofia next week. Czechoslovakia has decided to apply for CEMA's dissolution. We have agreed with the Polish side that Poland will support most of our proposals.

Of course, I would like something to exist in its place, but only on the condition that the participants in the Sofia session propose new, radical changes. Nevertheless, it seems to me that there is no chance of any multilateral system emerging. I think CEMA will split into bilateral groups.

Czechoslovakia will suggest the annulment of an entire series of previously concluded agreements. That is the Czechoslovak Government's stance, and I am able to present it today. If this suggestion is not accepted,

Czechoslovakia will withdraw individually. During today's talks, we agreed with the Polish side that we are ready to establish immediate bilateral relations, which include the establishment of a new relation toward the zloty without the mediation of the ruble.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] What is your attitude toward foreign capital in the Czechoslovak economy?

[Klaus] For the time being, I have to turn away Western banks and world firms, informing them, in somewhat jocular terms: You, who want to invest money in Czechoslovakia tomorrow, are not serious partners. You know we are in a transitional stage, and if you want to invest money here all the same, then you are not serious partners. Wait a while. Let us gather wind in our sails.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] What would you call your economic changes? What was called perestroyka in the USSR was called "prestavba" in your country. What is it called now?

[Klaus] The word "prestavba" does not exist in Czechoslovakia. We do not want it to look as if we are moving forward at breakneck speed only on paper. Fortunately, we have not had an opportunity for reforms, though I think we have proceeded much further than some countries. All this time, our economists have been able to calmly examine the latest economic trends in the world and are very well prepared for what lies in store for them.

Of course, that does not mean we no longer want "prestavba" or "reform," which is now a discredited word. Instead, I would prefer the word "counterreform," which is rather an odd expression, although what has been done is only a halfway solution. All the legislation that was passed during the period of "prestavba" was a compromise. It was "soft," and that was its shortcoming. But now that we are giving this legislation a new interpretation, it seems completely different, and a real possibility of using this legislation is at least partly appearing.

[RZECZPOSPOLITA] What chances do you give Balcerowicz?

[Klaus] I was in Poland from 18 to 23 September, a few days after the appointment of the new government, and I must say I was dismayed. It seems to me that the basis of the economic reforms is their gradual progression. During my visit, when there was raging hyperinflation, all I heard was one single word—privatization. And yet you have to stop inflation first of all. Privatization takes a long time.

That is what I said at the time. Going back to Czechoslovakia by train, I wrote an article which GAZETA WYBORCZA had requested. This article was really very critical. It never appeared in GAZETA WYBORCZA. Today, now that I have acquainted myself with the Polish plan of stabilization, it seems to me that my feeling of dismay was probably only fleeting. Three months later, in January, I have a different feeling.

CPCZ Calls for Changing CEMA Statute

LD0501213690 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] The Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Social and Economic Department today issued a statement on CEMA activity. It recalls that it was precisely Czechoslovakia which came up with a number of progressive proposals to increase the effectiveness of cooperation. It takes the view that in order for the council to be able to contribute to the economic development of the member states, it is necessary to change its statute and reassess previously adopted treaties and agreements.

GDR Government Undecided on Disbanding CEMA

LD0501163990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1503 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin, Jan 5 (TANJUG)—East Germany has as yet not adopted an official stand on Czechoslovakia's proposal for disbanding the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), but it is apparent that the Prague report received much publicity here.

The press carries front-page reports on a statement by Czechoslovakia's Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus who said there is no pricipled basis for CMEA's existence, and that his country will propose its disbanding at the Sofia meeting.

East Germany is at present at the crossroads of its social and economic orientation. This is why it will, most certainly, need more time to weight all the pros and cons and reach a final solution.

At this moment it is difficult to predict what this will be, but the fact is the CMEA countries are East Germany's major economic partners, primarily the Soviet Union which supplies it with the basic sources of energy and raw materials.

East Germany is, however, increasingly establishing links with the West German economy.

ADN Press Review: 'Old' CEMA Nonexistent

LD0601115690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0404 GMT 6 Jan 90

[From the press review]

[Text] [no dateline as received] Recently there has been a spate of statements calling for a radical change in the CEMA. On Thursday, Czechoslovak Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus said that CEMA no longer had a theoretical basis for existing, and in any case did not exist as originally laid down. On the other hand, the Polish Government spokeswoman came out in favor of the CEMA, even if its structures would have to be thoroughly changed.

Whatever the situation might be, one thing is clear: If the vast majority of its member states are now on a course toward social renewal, then the "old" CEMA in fact no longer exists. However, the question remains, what should there be in its stead?

...In general the radical change within CEMA has to bring with it a stronger linkage to the international division of labor. Thoughts and actions in this regard are concentrated on pan-European cooperation, of course, and it is not a utopian belief that a common "workshop," a European technological "workshop," can have a place in the European home.

Hungarian Foreign Minister Reveals CEMA Stance

LD0501193690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Czechoslovakia does not want to leave CEMA yet, but it considers the present organization unacceptable. This is what Evelyn Forro said in her report from Prague in "Midday Chronicle."

Following a news conference, Gyula Horn was invited to the microphone by reporter Jozsef Laszlo and asked to outline the Hungarian position on CEMA.

[Begin recording] [Laszlo] Is there any sense in reforming an organization which was formed, from a political and ideological point of view, to control this region?

[Horn] I cannot interpret this exactly in this way, regarding what was the purpose of creating this at the time. However, I can definitely say that the way it operates is unsuitable.

Now, as to whether the solution is to disband it and then we shall create a new CEMA, I am not at all sure. Or should it be transformed completely and fundamentally? I think that from a political point of view, perhaps, it would be more expedient to try to transform it. But not just formally, with certain modifications, but to transform it completely.

[Laszlo] There were concrete Czechoslovak proposals regarding the price system, the currency system. To what extent does the Hungarian Government support these proposals?

[Horn] I would like to add that, for example, in connection with the price system, the accounting system, the currency, and so forth, in CEMA, the Hungarian representatives have been advancing the enforcement and introduction of these for several years. It is true that one or two countries supported this at the time, but the vast majority of the CEMA countries rejected this. Thus, this does not mean new [word indistinct] for us—that is, that it was formulated by the Czechoslovak party—the situation in which we find ourselves is new. As I have also mentioned, we are in a majority, in my opinion—that is, those who want to reform the CEMA—because the questions of price, currency, accounting, and so forth, are the fundamental questions.

[Laszlo] To what extent is it possible to develop a kind of parallel economic organization within the Alps-Adria cooperation, which is in the Italian, Austrian, Yugoslav, and Hungarian square?

[Horn] It is my conviction that two things have to be taken into account: The first is that if countries struggling with similar problems would group together and cooperate closely—countries with an enormous lack of capital, struggling with very serious economic conflicts and shortages—I neither hope for nor expect a lot of good to come out of this kind of cooperation. I would consider it much more important that we cooperate or establish contacts with economically developed countries.

Incidentally, it is my conviction that there is a particular process taking place in Europe endeavoring to create a united Europe. This is very correct; this is also one of the fundamental endeavors of Hungarian foreign policy. At the same time, regional joining of forces will also have an ever greater role. Thus, this is also why I consider regional cooperation of this type with Austria and Italy important. [end recording]

CEMA Needs 'Radical Renewal'

LD0501221390 Budapest MTI in English 2056 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 5 (MTI)—The CMEA needs a radical renewal, as it is completely unsuitable for cooperation in its present form, and is also uneconomic, said Gyula Horn, Hungarian minister of foreign affairs, on the CMEA conference to be held in Sofia next week, at a scheduled press briefing on Friday on major diplomatic events scheduled for the coming weeks. As regards the potential renewal of the CMEA, Mr Horn feels that cooperation should be mostly dominated by bilateral relations, and all member countries should take up convertible accounting.

Talks with the newly appointed Czechoslovak minister of foreign affairs when he visits Hungary next week are to focus on questions relating to Gabcikovo-Nagymaros and the situation of the Hungarian minority of Slovakia.

When Mr Horn visits Israel in the next few days, talks will concentrate on the problems facing the Middle East region. Mr Horn stressed that Hungary's assumption of diplomatic relations with Israel does not mean that it wishes to distance itself from the Arab countries. Hungary's foreign policy still recognises the right of the Palestinian people to found a state. Hungary seeks cooperation with Saudi Arabia and the Arab Emirates, and hopes to soon establish diplomatic relations with them.

The two major foreign political events due in the first month of the year are the visits of the Japanese prime minister and the president of the French Republic.

In late January, Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth is to participate in the Strasbourg session of the Council of Europe and give a briefing on the economic and political processes under way in Hungary. In the same month talks at the expert level will start between Austria, Italy, Yugoslavia and Hungary on the practical details of a regional cooperation between the four countries.

In the same quarter of the year, Hungary is expected to establish diplomatic relations with the Vatican and Chile.

On the Thursday visit of the South African foreign minister, Mr Horn said that the meeting had been initiated by the South African Government and prepared for three months. In response to the criticism of Hungarian diplomacy with regard to the visit, Mr Horn said that major changes had recently taken place in South Africa, and there were many signs that the elimination of the apartheid system had begun. At the same time, Mr Horn empahsized that the assumption of full relations with South Africa could be realized only on condition that racial discrimination was completely abolished.

Hungarian Official Proposes CEMA Reorganization

LD0801002790 Budapest MTI in English 2324 GMT 7 Jan 90

[All quotation marks as received]

[Text] Budapest, January 7 (MTI)—The CMEA, the socialist trading bloc organized under the myth of friendship and brotherhood is no longer capable of serving either the development of its member states or the integration of the central and East European region," states Peter Medgyessy, deputy prime minister, in a lengthy article carried in the Monday [8 January] issue of the daly "MAGYAR HIRLAP. The article written shortly before the regular CMEA meeting in Sofia provides a detailed analysis of the causes of the bloc's disability to function and Hungary's ideas on cooperation with the CMEA and its member nations.

Mr Medgyessy says the CMEA came about as a result of the European division, and later acted as its preserver. Its autarkic system has removed its members from the tide of the world economy, with the cooperation built on raw material and energy imports from the Soviet Union and exports of the manufacturing industry and agricultural products in exchange, parallel to applying a rigid quota system and buerocratic plan coordination. This all has paralyzed competition and put the dampers on technical and technological development, parallel to reproducing poverty and shortages in the member countries. This system was dominated by the Soviet Union, which was the determining factor of the bloc as a result of her political and economic power.

"The dramatic changes in Eastern Europe over the past two years which have helped the nations get rid of the dictatorical regimes, brought along the unique opportunity for these countries to reform their relations in terms of their national interests and conditions. This opportunity should be promptly seized in order to replace the obsolete CMEA with a new form of cooperation, and we should take advantage of the forthcoming CMEA session in Sofia to open a new chapter," writes Mr Medgyessy.

The fundamentals and mechanisms of a new and feasible integration should be layed down, based on the law of economy that a healthy and developing integration can emerge only between countries that are identical or similar in size and stage of development. This means that at first, only the countries that are approximately identical in size and degree of development should establish closer ties. Thus, for geographical, economic, developmental and political reasons, the rational course of action seems to be to form a Polish- Czechoslovak-Hungarian integration unit.

Integration would be established step by step, beginning with a multilateral free trade agreement, followed by joint commercial political actions in order to gradually promote the free flow of labour and capital. At the next stage of integration, financial systems could approach each other, and a convertible accounting unit. The money used by the integration, would be introduced. In the latter process, the small CMEA integration unit could apply for help from the World Bank or other international financial institutions," proceeds Mr Medgyessy.

At the same time, the Hungarian deputy prime minister points out that he sees neither interests in nor arguments for the total abolition of the CMEA. The present system could be preserved as the outer framework of the integration, although with major modifications, including a flexible cooperation and only general coordination. The second circle would be the open and thriving market of a group of East European countries, only a few at the beginning. The energy of the second circle could revitalize and stimulate cooperation between the other countries. This integration would be accesible for the countries that are willing to and capable of undertaking the real consequences of market integration. This could lead to a kind of integration in which the economy of the nations of Eastern Europe could also be lifted," says Mr Medgyessy.

Hungarian Official: CEMA Must Reform

LD0801101690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0600 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Prior to the CEMA meeting in Sofia, Deputy State Minister Peter Szonyi [and head of the International Economic Cooperation Department of the Council of Ministers] speaks to Andras Domanyi about the Hungarian standpoint and about the prospects for the organization.

[Begin recording] [Szonyi] It can be safely stated that the previously developed system of means for cooperation,

which was based on a system of plan breakdowns [terv lebontasos rendszer], has failed.

[Domanyi] Documents will be submitted there which, properly speaking, were accepted at the time of the former GDR, Czechoslovak, and Romanian Governments.

[Szonyi] Yes, that is exactly so. I trust that this 2-day session will not amount to a debate over the submitted documents, but that it will be a debate over how the system of relations of this region should be renewed, so that it can turn into a region based on market relations, so that first and foremost the independent enterprises can move freely, and so that the state does only what the state's task truly is.

I believe that it is necessary to reckon with the prospect of some countries setting off on a new path, and that probably they will coexist for a shorter or longer time, that they will cooperate on the basis of various systems of means. We think it is necessary for us to switch over to an entirely new market system; in this market system the measure of value would be a convertible currency. Prices would be based on world market prices and be based on direct linkage, thus not on average prices for 2 years, 3 years, or 5 years. It would be a system which brings in its wake all which is required by a free foreign currency market.

However, my conviction is that the manner in which this system of cooperation has operated (?since it was) formed cannot be continued in this way. If this region is unable to change this, what will happen is not that it will abolished, but that it simply will disintegrate. [end recording]

Polish Officials View CEMA's Future

Swiecicki: CEMA 'Outdated'

LD0501143290 Warsaw PAP in English 1327 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 5—Speaking about the functioning of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, CMEA, Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Marcin Swiecicki told today's ZYCIE WARSZAWY daily that the formula of integration based on the coordination of plans was outdated.

"This means," he said, "that the CMEA statute and numerous documents that served this formula became useless. What remains are different concrete problems of this group of states like, for example, the switch into a market economy, integration with the world economy, joining the current of European integration, restructuring of mutual rules of foreign trade, efforts to make currencies convertible."

"It is a characteristic proof of CMEA's crisis that it had never come to implementation of these plans though the integration program, formulated 20 years ago, did envisage them," Swiecicki said.

"In my opinion," he went on, "time has come to replace the CMEA with a new, more flexible organization serving to coordinate activities aimed at solving these problems.

"There is also a need to sign bi- and multilateral agreements between the sides concerned as the condition of reforms and the system of economy's functioning in different countries have become different. As an example I can mention here the Polish-Soviet negotiations on settling accounts in convertible currencies. In the present circumstances, the application of uniform solutions for all states frequently hampers the signing of any agreement."

"I think," Swiecicki said in conclusion, "that the forthcoming session of the CMEA countries, to be held in Sofia, will open up discussion and start a new direction of work on these issues."

Need for Changes Noted

LD0701212690 Warsaw PAP in English 2051 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 7—Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki is to head a Polish delegation to the 45th session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) to open in Sofia this January 9.

Head of the Bureau for International Economic Relations in the Council of Ministers Office Alfred Siennicki told PAP that the Polish delegation would try to overcome the hitherto impasse as regards reforms of mechanisms of cooperation between CMEA members.

According to Siennicki, the CMEA cannot exist in its present shape any longer as it was created at another stage and by the system of the centralized economy. Thus, the CMEA is currently rather a brake than a driving force of changes.

"The Polish delegation will not present any recipe of restoring the CMEA though it thinks such therapy necessary. The organization must take into account transformations that have been going on in some of its member-states. Certain CMEA bodies are no longer needed while its structures may appear to form another organization under a different name.

"CEMA's plans to create its own integrated market fell through too. We think that the CMEA countries should settle their trade accounts in world prices and in free

currencies. Today, there is no place for different foreign trade systems—one for countries with market economies and other, artificial one, for countries of our group," Siennicki said.

CEMA 'Hindrance' to Reform

LD0701183690 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Text] The Polish delegation is not going to Sofia with a ready-made recipe for healing CEMA. Nevertheless, such treatment is essential, said Alfred Siennicki, director of the International Economic Relations Office of the Council of Ministers, in an interview in connection with the 45th CEMA session, which is to start in the Bulgarian capital on Tuesday.

Director Siennicki said that at present CEMA is more of a hindrance than a driving force for changes in East European countries. Speaking about the changes that are essential, he said that the Polish side believes that in the CEMA countries' trade, there is a need to move to trading using world prices and accounting in free currencies. Changes in the activity and structure of CEMA should take place in an evolutionary way.

Janicki on Dissolving CEMA

LD0601120190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] As his talks in Budapest, Polish Deputy Premier Czeslaw Janicki raised the idea of Polish-Hungarian-Czechoslovak integration, because of CEMA's inability to function. At the session of the Hungarian-Polish economic government committee, they spoke about liberalizing bilateral trade completely by the beginning of next year and about the Poles paying off their goods debt of almost 70 million rubles.

They agreed that an attempt must be made to reform CEMA, but if the organization proves to be definitively incapable of rectifying, then there is no other option but to dissolve the economic organization.

GDR Commentaries Berate U.S. Action in Panama

East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG Commentary

AU0501184590 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 2 Jan 90 p 2

[Bo Adam commentary: "This Is Not What New Thinking Means"]

[Text] For 8 years, U.S. diplomats had been able to refer to the very special characteristics of their President whenever Washington came up with plots that contradicted all international standards—the long-term effect of too many Western and James Bond movies.

Such excuses are no longer applicable because the White House is no longer inhabited by the Hollywood extra Ronald Reagan, but by the more serious-minded George Bush. How can one explain that, at the end of 1989, the United States occupied a country, Panama, and left a bloody trail of 1,500 dead in order to get hold of General Noriega, a politician whom it tried to portray as its arch enemy, and that U.S. troops have besieged the papal nunciature in Panama City, have kidnapped the Cuban ambassador twice, and now they have even assaulted and searched the residence of the Nicaraguan ambassador? Even in World War II the inviolability of diplomatic missions was observed.

So what was going on at the end of 1989—when detente was the rule of the day everywhere—to lead the United States to once again assume the role of the political Neanderthal? It seems to me that the past 8 years have left behind a kind of "Reagan doctrine" in Washington, a doctrine according to which the United States applies the unlimited law of the wild west wherever—from the point of view of power policy and popularity in domestic policy—it seems to be the obvious thing to do. All on-site observers confirm that the current Panama expedition has been fully supported by the majority of the U.S. population. Thus, no eminent U.S. politician dares to seriously criticize this act, even though it clearly infringed even on U.S. laws.

The fact that this latest adventure movie is very popular with the audience at home is intended to be regarded as an excuse. I would say that this makes matters even worse. In case U.S. foreign policy has now ultimately become dependent on manipulation through "television democracy" at home, we—and the rest of the world—must be prepared for anything. Where is this going to end and who should be able to stop it?

After all, it only requires wealthy demagogues, who hammer the image of another arch enemy into the brains of the U.S. people via all channels for a few years, for the Pentagon to be permitted to do whatever it wants.

I think that this is not what was meant by the new thinking. New thinking is aimed at the worldwide conciliation of interests, and not at the subordination of international legal standards to U.S. needs.

East Berlin TV Commentary

LD0501121290 East Berlin Television Service in German 1854 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The United States had made it. Noriega, Panama's commander in chief and, in the final analysis, also head of state and government, finally went where he was wanted to go, namely to the United States. Ten days after his flight, he now turned himself in to the Army. Since all that has taken place at night, the following pictures will take some imagination.

That obviously is the Papal Nunciature in Panama, which Noriega left around 0200 European time to be taken to Florida by U.S. military aircraft—voluntarily, as is pointed out in reports. There may have been various reasons that made him decide that: the long abandoned resistance on the part of his Army, the call for him to give in voiced by tens of thousands around the embassy yesterday, but, most important perhaps, Washington's promise to the Vatican that he would not face capital punishment.

U.S. President Bush has paid tribute to the troops involved. Those who died in the operation, he said, had sacrificed their lives for a noble cause. There is some truth in that. The fight against drug trafficking may well be termed a noble cause. According to the rule of the market, however, it is demand that determines production. It would make much more sense to fight the causes of drug addiction within one's own country. Instead, the United States is more than willing and committed to transfer its fight to other countries, such as Panama, as a transit country as well as to the actual producing countries. Last fall, for instance, and these are library pictures, the U.S. military operated in Columbia, too, to crush the local drug cartel. Cultivation was fought and the fields and the laboratories destroyed; rightfully so, but, at the same time, U.S. border guards and customs officers have turned a blind eye toward the cartel's drug flights to Florida, on which weapons for the Nicaraguan contras were on board on return flights.

The fight is not quite as noble, after all, and Noriega's motives, too, are much more complex. Think of the fact, for example, that he used to be a CIA-paid agent until well into President Bush's term as head of that organization. It has never been revealed why it came to a break. According to Noriega's own statement, his relationship with United States took a drastic turn for the worse when he declined to allow his country's involvement in military action against Nicaragua. And, in at least one respect, Noriega has been a constant source of irritation to the United States. When he was sworn in as head of state in December, he once more referred to Panama's claim to the canal as the most delicate point in the national relationship with its northern neighbor, knowing full well that it was almost all he had in common with part of his countrymen. The United States, he said, was attempting to undermine the treaties

President Carter once signed with Panama. Nonetheless, Panama insisted on its right to entire control of the canal.

Having reached the aim of his operation, President Bush pointed out that it also served to safeguard the canal treaties. Only the future will show what that can be taken to mean. In any case, the U.S. Government considers its mission fulfilled, and the troops, of which a first 144 out of a total of 26,000 have meanwhile been withdrawn, will certainly return home as winners. But in order to hunt just one man, they have bombarded and in some sections vastly destroyed a foreign capital, leaving civilians wounded and a reported 1,500 dead.

The invasion was a step that most blatantly disregards international law and constitutes a crime that is not mitigated just because its perpetrator happens to be the powerful United States.

Polish Paper Views Noriega Trial in U.S.

AU0801153490 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish
5-7 Jan 90 p 2

[Ewa Gronowska commentary: "The Trial of the Century?"]

[Text] On Wednesday [3 January] night, General Noriega left the Vatican mission in Panama for an unknown destination to land at the U.S. Homestead Air Base near Miami. An hour later, the Panamanian authorities reported that Noriega had waived Vatican protection.

Gen Manuel Noriega, whom the United States has accused of drug trafficking, faces a 145-year prison term. His lawyer has told journalists that he will enter a plea of not guilty on behalf of his client. He gave no details, but one can assume that the general, who, as has been said for a long time now, had worked with the CIA on an ongoing basis, has quite a few things to say in his defense. One can also be almost 100-percent certain that he would not have given himself up to the Americans had he not received some kind of assurance that he could completely extricate himself from the affair.

Nevertheless, it is being said that it will be the trial of the century, although after it the defendant might disappear, never to be heard of again. The Americans, who have declared total war on the dealers in death, may find it far more profitable to use Noriega's assistance in order to infiltrate narcotics circles and obtain information that will be of use in eliminating the drug bosses than to sentence Noriega, especially since the Americans' aversion to the general has little to do with narcotics.

The basic issue for the United States is that of retaining control of the Panama Canal, which, in accordance with the Torrijos-Carter Treaties, is to be handed over to the Panamanians in 2000. Noriega did not want to hear of any changes to the terms of the treaty and so, almost overnight, he changed from being a pupil and a friend into someone who was viewed with disfavor in the United States.

The Americans can feel satisfaction now that he has lost power, and there is surely no one in the United States who cares if Noriega talks too much about his friendship with the CIA. However, he will undoubtedly have rather a lot to say on international links not only in the drug trade, but also in the arms trade, and his contacts cover the whole world. The trial may turn out to be the scandal of the century.

Protests Against Ethnic Decision Continue

AU0501150190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Let us begin with a report from Kurdzhali. Georgi Dalev reports:

[Begin Dalev recording] I shall try to be very brief. Let me begin by refuting the rumor that was spread: The protest rally in Kurdzhali is taking place in a completely orderly manner. At 1500 the square in front of the Culture Club, toward which citizens started to go as early as in the morning hours, became too small and could not accommodate the more than 15,000 participants. At about the same time, a group of about 10,000 people came from Khaskovo. Afterward, additional groups of numerous participants arrived from Krumovgrad, Ardino, and Blagoevgrad. They were greeted with enthusiastic applause. Their representatives took the floor and conveyed to the Kurdzhali citizens the greetings of the citizens from the cities from which they came, who support their demands without any reservations.

I am closely following the rally and I have talked with many of the participants. Without going into too much detail, I would only like to end with the following: Nobody knows precisely how long the rally will continue. This means that nobody knows precisely how long the strike that encompasses all enterprises and offices in the city will continue. [end recording]

A short while ago, Ivaylo Slavov, our correspondent in Shumen, telephoned us:

[Begin Slavov recording] Many people have been marching along Shumen's streets since the early morning hours. They carry posters and chant slogans that support the declaration of their compatriots from Kurdzhali. The students from the Konstantin Preslavski Higher Educational Institute left the halls. Students, employees, and workers joined the student procession. They all gathered in front of the Shumen Municipal Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP]. At 1100 a rally began here with the participation of 10,000 people. The rally continued until 1500. The speakers rejected the manner in which the 29 December decision of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council, and the Council of Ministers was adopted and they demanded that all nationality issues be resolved with the participation of all people.

Chudomir Aleksandrov, the people's representative, promised the participants in the rally that he would acquaint the National Assembly with the position of his constituency.

At 1230, a protest convoy was organized by about 100 taxicabs. A significant part of the city's industrial plants are not functioning. Special-duty units are activating enterprises so that there is uninterrupted production. The citizens of Shumen intend to continue their rally at 1630 and to express their demands until late tonight. At about 1700, citizens from Kurdzhali, who are now heading toward Shumen, will join the rally. [end recording]

Our reporter Venelin Sveshtnikov reports on the situation in Varna:

[Begin Sveshtnikov recording] The Georgi Dimitrov Shipyard, the port complex, the Vasil Kolarov Diesel Engines Enterprise, the 1 May Plant, the Gercho Enterprise for men's and women's clothing, Incomservice, and the railroad transportation service—this is just a small part of the dozens of plants, enterprises, and collectives in Varna whose representatives gathered at noon in front of the Party Club Building to express their disagreement with the 29 December decision of the State Council and the Council of Ministers. Under the slogan "The Nation Must Resolve the Nationality Issue," groups of various enterprises were formed. They will prepare telex messages and telegrams to the BCP Central Committee and the National Assembly. Those messages to our country's leading organs clearly suggest that they rethink the decisions adopted on 29 December 1989. Full and unreserved support is expressed for the citizens of Khaskovo, Kurdzhali, and other places, who oppose the ethnic separation of our country. [end recording]

Kuwaiti Aid Rumors Denied

AU0501164090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Concerning the wide rumors, according to which Kuwait has allegedly made U.S.$6 billion available to Bulgaria as compensation for restoring the Turkish Arab names of the Muslims, Grigor Kruchmarksi, chief of Department Six at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, made the following statement to a BTA representative:

Such a question has not been raised and could not have been raised by either the Bulgarian or the Kuwaiti side. I am authorized to tell you that any rumors of such a deal are absolutely groundless and are possibly ill-intended.

The government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria has never made, and has no intention of making, agreements that involve bargaining with the national interests of the country and the Bulgarian people.

Mladenov Meets Citizens

AU0501201790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Today at noon, State Council Chairman Petur Mladenov met a group of citizens from the capital, Kurdzhali, and Khaskovo at their request. A frank, constructive dialogue took place, in the course of which pressing problems were discussed, as well as ways for their most effective solution. Views, stances, and statements were expressed during the meeting, but the common conviction was that the most important thing at the present is for the country to calm down and return

to normal, and that this can only be achieved through the joint and well-intentioned efforts of all Bulgarian citizens.

The chairman of the State Council stressed the role and responsibility of all state and public organizations, citizens, and enterprises for improving the social climate and returning to constructive joint labor, on which the further renewal of the homeland depends.

Union Leader Urges Roundtable

AU0501205790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] At a rally of thousands in Kurdzhali, Krustyu Petkov, chairman of the Provisional Executive Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions, made a call in the name of the council for a televised roundtable meeting without delay—this coming Sunday—of responsible representatives of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, the Union of Democratic Forces, the independent Bulgarian trade unions, the Fatherland Front, and the Dimitrov Komsomol.

Prominent representatives of the spontaneously formed citizens' committees from the four oblasts of Bulgaria, of both sections of the populations, and the Bulgarian Muslims should also take part in the discussion. The meeting should discuss the views of each organization on the main claims of the people in connection with the ethnic crisis, as well as a wide poll of all sections of the populations on their demands, while observing the Constitution and the international obligations that our country has undertaken.

The television roundtable should be chaired by the chairman of the National Assembly. It should become the start of a wide social dialogue on this most important problem for the country at the moment. The discussion should not hinder the preparations for holding the national roundtable that has been announced for 16 January this year.

'Alarming' Situation Noted

AU0501214290 Sofia BTA in English 2028 GMT 5 Jan 90

["Alarming Situation in Bulgaria"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 5 (BTA)—Today the situation in many regions of Bulgaria is alarming. The decisions of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], the State Council and the Council of Ministers of December 29, 1989, concerning the national problem are still in the epicentre of the country's political life, evoking sharp reactions on the part of the population. Contradictory evaluations are fanning up emotions.

Since January 5, 2400 hours [as received], all industrial enterprises and institutions in Kurdzhali have been on strike. The transport workers are also on strike. Only the health care establishments, the plants of non-stop-regime production, some basics-selling shops and the dairy produce enterprise have gone on a token strike.

It is generally feared that it is possible for incidents to occur.

In the Deveti Septemvri Square the participants in the rally have been heard to chant several times, "We are Turkish, Turkish we are." Provocative posters in the Turkish language have also appeared. This has its impact on the general feelings of the participants in the parallel rally of the Bulgarian population which is going on for three days now.

At a rally in Kurdzhali on behalf of the Temporary Executive Committee of the Bulgarian Trade Unions its chairman Prof Krustyu Petkov proposed the holding of a round table on Sunday at the Bulgarian Television between responsible representatives of the BCP, the BZNS [Bulgarian National Agrarian Union], the Union of Democratic Forces, the independent Bulgarian trade unions, the Fatherland Front and the DKMS [Dimitrov Komsomol]. The discussion should be attended by representatives of the public committees established these days in four regions in Bulgaria, of the two parts of the population, and of the Bulgarian Mohammedans. The participants in the round table should discuss the views of each organization on the ethnic crisis.

It is proposed that the television roundtable should be chaired by the chairman of the National Assembly.

In the city of Khaskovo the industrial enterprises, the transport and communications, the shops are on strike.

At a 25,000-strong rally the speakers stressed that the strike is organized as a sign of protest against the decisions "not in conformity with the reality" of the last plenum of the CC of the BCP. They insisted on the naming and punishment of those who were guilty for the gross violations in 1984 and after that to solve democratically the question of the names of the Bulgarian Muslims. It was proposed that a commission consisting of scholars—historians, sociologists, psychologists, political scientists, should develop a durable program on the national question.

The majority raised slogans: "General strike till full victory," "The Central Committee sold Bulgaria," "In Bulgaria only Bulgarian names." The rally voted a petition to the National Assembly which insists on the defence of the Bulgarian language and the Bulgarian state.

At the same time the company of the local drama theatre supported the decision of the latest plenum of the CC of the BCP.

The spontaneous rally in Stara Zagora continued for about three hours with banners and slogans. Workers with ribbons on their sleeves inscribed "I'm on strike" passed through the central street of the city to the municipal committee of the BCP in order to present their declaration. The first secretary of the municipal

committee of the BCP Totyo Nanev signed the declaration first. Other declarations were also announced. They express disagreement with the resolution of the CC of the BCP of December 29, 1989, and resentment over the non-democratic way of decision-taking concerning the important national question.

Some of the speakers characterized the situation in this country as a political crisis and demanded personal responsibility of all who have brought to the ethno-national crisis of last summer. [sentence as received] At the same time all speakers spoke of the "need of unison of the patriotic forces and non-admission of any possibility for conflicts."

At a rally in the city of Burgas the first secretary of the regional committee of the BCP Ivan Chengeliev supported the demands of the demonstrators for resolution of the ethnical problem through most democratic means and through a referendum.

A declaration of the Administrative Council of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists expresses support for the decision on the strength of which the Bulgarian Muslims are free to choose their names.

It is pointed out that in the last five years the mass media in the country have participated in the disgraceful performance staged by Todor Zhivkov's regime, deliberately spreading lies. "The press, the radio and the television, to the shame of the Bulgarian journalists, became party to a crime against their own people and all international agreements safeguarding human rights," it is said in the declaration. It is insisted that the whole truth about the events of 1984-85 and 1989 should be revealed, that the people should learn the truth about the position of the CC of the BCP, the BCP CC Politburo, the State Council and the Council of Ministers, that the culprits should be brought to court.

It is said in the declaration of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists that some Bulgarians, who are now making protests against the restoration of the Muslims' names, are actually trying to cover their own guilt and fear of taking the punishment for the violence and unlawful acts committed by them.

In some places in the country the bureaucratic apparatus is provoking unrest, the consequences of which may be tragic, the declaration goes on to say.

Strikes were held today also in the cities of Shumen, Plovdiv, Silistra, Alfatar, Tutrakan, Varna and others. From 1200 hours till 1600 hours not a single train passed through the Shumen Railway Station.

A many-thousand strong rally continued for more than 5 hours in front of the municipal committee of the BCP. The party and state bodies were accused of hasty decisions on a question concerning the fate of the people.

Signatures are collected in the city of Silistra for a hunger strike which should start on January 8. Students expressed concern over provocations on the side of Muslim youths threatening those on strike with murder.

The Independent Ecoglasnost Movement supported the decision of the State and Ministerial Councils, but at the same time it reproached those bodies that they have not revealed the reasons for the national disunity.

The demands for a referendum on the question of names is a demand to make a referendum on universal human rights and the Universal Declaration on Human Rights. No majority, whatever, can violate the right to chose one's name and the freedom of consciousness, reads the declaration of Ecoglasnost. Disagreement is expressed over the attempts to bring to disunity the democratic movement through speculations with the national question, as well as through revenge moods, which have spread over a part of the peripheral state and party structures, and through deliberately spread rumours for search of territorial autonomy and national revenge.

Defense Ministry Denies Danger

AU0501221990 Sofia BTA in English 2130 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 5 (BTA)—A statement of the Ministry of National Defence, released here for publication, reads:

A number of citizens, especially in some regions of this country, these days set questions whether the resolution of the State Council and the Council of Ministers of December 29, 1989, impairs the security of this country, whether it creates a certain threat for the borders and the territory of Bulgaria.

The Ministry of National Defence declares that as early as during the process of the preparation of the resolution of the State and the Ministerial Councils, it has analysed these questions. Not a single aspect of these cardinal problems for our state and fatherland has been underestimated or undervalued.

The assessment of the Ministry of National Defence is clear and unambiguous. The security and the territorial wholeness of Bulgaria are reliably guaranteed. There is no ground for alarm, nor for dramatizing of the situation. The real factors on which this assessment is based are the following:

The fighting and moral-political readiness of the Bulgarian People's Army is on a level which guarantees that it can defend the borders and the sovereignty of this country. We have at our disposal everything necessary to answer any encroachment against the Bulgarian state.

In the face of the Warsaw Treaty member states, and most of all of the Soviet Union and its Armed Forces, we have not only reliable allies but also secure guarantors of our borders, national independence and security.

The southern border of Bulgaria is reliably guaranteed with everything necessary in order to secure its inviolability.

We estimate that at present there is no immediate danger of military actions on the side of anyone of the neighbouring states against Bulgaria. The Balkan relations, no matter how comprehensive and contradictory, are determined by the tendency for detente and efforts for good-neighbour relations.

The chief tendencies in the development of the international situation are oriented toward strengthening of peace, stability, secure and stable borders in Europe. Any attempt for resolution of a European regional problem today through military means is an adventure and it is doomed to failure.

We see a sound and durable base for the security of our country in the strengthening of the unity of the Bulgarian people. The Bulgarian People's Army consists of the sons of all Bulgarian citizens and their unity is a guarantee for the unity of the People's Army.

The leadership of the Ministry of National Defence, the officers, the sergeants, the soldiers of the Bulgarian People's Army support completely the process of restructuring of the socialist society, especially the overcoming of the distortions which have been committed in violation of the constitutional rights of Bulgarian citizens. We understand our patriotic duty and will make everything possible for the defence of the fatherland and for the success of the innovation of the socialist society in this country, for the well-being of our people and the flourishing of Bulgaria.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1830 GMT on 5 November, in reporting the Ministry of National Defense statement, adds that the statement was issued by "Lieutenant General Radnyu Minchev, first deputy chief of the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army and spokesman of the Ministry of National Defense"]

All-Night Rally Held

AU0601143990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0700 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] Our reporter Khristo Khristov followed your opinions and positions, both at the National Assembly Square and in the studio throughout the night:

[Begin Khristov recording] In previous newscasts I imparted my impressions of the young demonstrators in front of the National Assembly, who spent the night there. Let us hear two opinions about them. [end recording]

[Begin recording of unidentified man] Those people have been accused of being nationalists, chauvinists, extremists, and even worst names, which I will not mention on the radio. I spent the night with those people, and now understand that they are not nationalists or chauvinists. They have been prompted by patriotic considerations. They have come from places that are 400 km from here. [passage indistinct] Their national dignity as Bulgarians has been violated. [end recording]

[Begin Nikola Barkov recording] It is high time to begin a mass campaign. Let there not be any privileges for minorities and majorities. The laws are equal for all, both the for the minority and the majority. Bulgaria is one for all of us and we are with Bulgaria. That is why we are here, and if necessary, we will continue to demonstrate. My name is Nikola Barkov. [end recording]

Militia Issues Appeal

AU0601121090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] We have just received the following appeal of the People's Militia Directorate:

During the last few days, an unusual intensification of the citizens' social and political activity could be observed in Sofia and many other cities throughout the country. This has been expressed by rallies, processions, vigils, and mass movements toward certain populated areas, especially Sofia. During those public events, different opinions and attitudes were expressed toward decisions and positions of higher organs of the state government and administration on issues that now excite broad masses of the population.

In implementing its functions related to protecting the public order, the People's Militia Directorate considers it as its civic and legal duty to draw the citizens' attention to certain alarming findings about facts and circumstances, which contradict the universal norms of cultural and tolerant behavior at public places, or have been proclaimed as punishable under the law. Thus, for example, the gathering of great groups of people in front of the Bulgarian Television and Sofia Radio, and the attempts of illegal, or at least, unwarranted penetration of the buildings during live programs, is, to put it mildly, unacceptable. This is so at least from the point of view of the democratic customs and principles that we all want to see continually asserted by all means in our life.

The atmosphere created around the National Assembly building, when its constitutional organs are working precisely on the acute problems, which we all expect to be solved, is even more unacceptable. The situation at Sofia University is similar. At many places during the rallies, on the basis of different opinions related to the issues of the dispute, acts of indecent [nepristoen] behavior were seen. In those cases, the power of the arguments was emotionally and uncontrollably replaced by the argument of the power. In several cases there were unrestrained [neobuzdan] and improper [neprilichen] attacks against the speakers, and fights [sbivane] between adherents of different opinions.

Such a civilization, in quotation marks, in the political dialogue at the squares cannot be accepted or encouraged by passivity or silence, and even more so by the organs of the People's Militia, who often become the target of unrestrained, exalted, and—in any case—unprovoked insults, provocations, and disrespectful behavior. All this occurs while they are performing their duties impeccably.

We note with bitterness many cases of alcohol use during the mass rallies, something that creates uncontrolled and unrestrained behavior, triteness [poshlost], and compromising the very idea of democracy itself.

The extraordinary situation in many populated places throughout the country makes it impossible for the People's Militia to guarantee normal public order. This is even more true in many instances when, instead of cooperation, they encounter resistance [protivodeystvie] on the part of many participants in the mass events.

The People's Militia Directorate appeals to the leaderships of the political and public organizations, and all participants in the events, as well as to all citizens, to demonstrate high political culture and prudence, restraint, and refrain from irresponsible acts. It appeals to all to cooperate with the efforts of the People's Militia to guarantee exemplary public order, which is so necessary under the present conditions.

Official Meets Protesters

AU0601145890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] During the last hour, a meeting began at the National Assembly between Atanas Dimitrov, deputy chairman of the National Assembly, and 12 citizens from Razgrad, Kurdzhali, Khadzhi Dimitrov, Momchilovgrad, Turgovishte, [two placenames indistinct] and Sofia. The conversation is taking place in a calm atmosphere. Atanas Dimitrov is listening to the opinions of the citizens.

Further on Meeting

AU0601154590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] This morning at the National Assembly, a meeting began between Atanas Dimitrov, deputy chairman of the National Assembly, and 12 representatives of the group of citizens who gathered in the square in front of the National Assembly building. The participants in the meeting pointed out that they have no political claims. They want the issue to be justly resolved, with guarantees for all citizens. The opinion was expressed that the participants in the rally in front of the National Assembly disassociate themselves from the slogans for violence. A demand was voiced to adopt a law on the inviolability of the country's territorial integrity. Atanas Dimitrov listened to the participants.

Ruse Workers' Declaration

AU0601144190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] This morning a group of workers from the Vasil Kolarov Railroad Car Producing Enterprise in Ruse came to the Bulgarian Radio correspondents office in Ruse, brought a declaration adopted by them, and insisted that we report it.

The declaration reads: We saw in yesterday's symbolic and real strikes several signs of extremism that can cause a confrontation. We appeal for prudence. Let us stop the confrontation, let us go to our homes and enterprises. Let us decide by peaceful means what our rights and obligations must be, the declaration reads.

Ethnic Rallies Noted

AU0601144690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] A big rally began today at Svoboda Central Square in Turgovishte. It was organized by the Municipal Committee on Coordinating the Protest. Representative groups from Omurtag and Popovo are participating in the rally. Simultaneously, a roundtable discussion is taking place, with the participation of Comrades Dimitur Stanishev and Konstantin Telalov. In Razgrad there also is a roundtable discussion, with the participation of Comrade Stanko Todorov.

Today a big convoy of private cars departed from Silistra for Sofia. The participants in the convoy will hand to the National Assembly an appeal that was adopted last night at the all-city protest rally, organized by the Committee on Accelerating the Process of Unity and Defending National Interests. The appeal demands a just resolution to the nationality issue and calls upon the National Assembly to repeal the 29 December decision until new democratic elections are conducted.

Demonstrators Request Food

AU0601144890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] We received a request from the participants in the rally in front of the National Assembly to all listeners: Whoever can do so is requested to help the women and children participating on this cold day in the rally in front of the National Assembly by bringing sandwiches and tea.

Situation in Kurdzhali

AU0601153490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Here is a report by our correspondent in Kurdzhali, Georgi Dalev, on the first hours of the day:

[Begin Dalev recording] I am again transmitting from the square in front of the Culture Club; however, there is

no rally, because of the decision that was adopted to hold no more rallies. [end recording] [passage omitted]

[Begin recording of unidentified man] Our spontaneous meetings received the support of many people who think like us, for example, from Ardino, and we decided to help the Bulgarian brothers in Ardino in the same way. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Rallies in Turgovishte, Ruse

AU0601151590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] [Announcer] In Turgovishte, a big rally is being held, organized by the municipal committee for coordinating the protest. Representative groups from Omurtag and Popovo are taking part in the rally. Correspondent Ivo Kharizanov provides more details:

[Begin Kharizanov recording] At this time the speeches continue. Tricolor flags are being waved, a great number of placards can be seen, and the people are chanting. Dimitur Stanishev and Grudi Atanasov also made appearances and addressed the crowd.

There is a lot of bitterness and feelings of insult in the people's words. These feelings are expressed in the declaration adopted by the participants, which lays the blame on the dramatic events that have occurred on the State Council, the Council of Ministers, the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, and the newly created democratic forces. I quote: They continue to ignore the will of the Bulgarian people when adopting decisions that are fateful for the people themselves. Their political activity is filled with demagogy, which is splitting the nation.

Apart from this, I, as a representative of the Television and Radio Committee, was ashamed for the first time of the accusations leveled against me personally that the mass media are forming an untrue public opinion in Bulgaria concerning the processes under way in these regions.

A rally began in Popovo 2 hours ago and, at this moment, columns of cars are setting off from all parts of the oblast to take part in a big rally in Razgrad. [end recording]

[Announcer] I do not know what kind of accusations have been made against us, but objectivity is our desire and the sole aim of our work. I continue with the news.

An hour ago, in Svoboda Square in front of the party building in Ruse, a rally of thousands from the whole town started to protest the 29 December decision on the nationality issue. The rally is organized by the initiative committee for the defense of national [word indistinct], which was formed yesterday, and Comrade Andrey Lukanov is taking part. In a brief speech, which was interrupted by unrestrained cries, he attempted to explain the premises that led to the adoption of this decision. The meeting is continuing, and we will report more details in following news programs.

In Shumen, the situation is calm after yesterday's 10-hour-long rally. The stores are open and all enterprises are operating. Here is a report from our correspondent Ivaylo Savov:

[Begin Savov recording] At its meeting, the coordinating committee for defense of national unity that was formed yesterday discussed the events of yesterday and adopted specific measures for action. The fact was taken into account that the emotional tension, prompted by the manner in which the decision of 29 December was adopted, was the reason for the disruption of the preliminary organization. The view was voiced that it is necessary to insist on a number of international legal documents, an act that should have been completed much earlier and under other conditions.

The committee expresses its support for a scientific approach to the socio-psychological phenomena in society, and adopts as methods of action [words indistinct], political demonstrations, rallies, and, as a final resort, strikes.

With the participation of representatives from the enterprises in the town, a decision was adopted not to continue yesterday's strikes, but for work to be resumed. [end recording]

BZNS Official Meets Agrarians

AU0601203890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] At the meeting held in Kurdzhali today between activist members of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] from the region of the former Kurdzhali Okrug and BZNS Secretary Angel Dimitrov, a critical discussion took place on the state and on the BZNS' role in the current tense political situation, on the need for the BZNS to come out with even more firm stands on the nationality issue and on the necessity for a specific program for reviving the Bulgarian countryside.

The general wish was expressed by all those present that, on the eve of its 90th anniversary, the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union should be confirmed as a united party, without factions and divisions.

With regard to the main issue of the day—nationality, BZNS Secretary Angel Dimitrov objected to the manner in which the document of 29 December was signed by the State Council and the Council of Ministers. He put emphasis on the need to create a Bulgarian atmosphere in this region of the homeland, and said that for those people who cannot come to terms with this, the world is a wide and open place. Now it is, most of all, necessary for Bulgaria to become a truly law-governed state, Angel Dimitrov said.

Well-attended rallies also took place today in Turgovishte, Gabrovo, Tolbukhin, and elsewhere. In all places, the rallies were held in a peaceful atmosphere.

Turkish Talks Discussed

AU0601203690 Sofia BTA in English 1956 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 6 (BTA)—The object we have made it our task to achieve at the forthcoming Bulgaro-Turkish talks in Kuwait is placing our bilateral relations on a stable, new-in-principle basis, stated in an interview given to the Bulgarian Television tonight Mr Boyko Dimitrov, minister of foreign affairs.

He stressed that the point is not only to normalize the strained relations or revert to the relatively favourable situation of bilateral relations in the seventies and the beginning of the eighties. Such a new basis can be built only by the absolute mutual respect for the basic principles of international law, its principles of equality, independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, noninterference in another country's internal affairs and balance of interests.

This is the sole basis on which we can maintain mutually advantageous and useful bilateral relations, the Bulgarian foreign minister underlined.

Mr Boyko Dimitrov announced that no specific matters will be negotiated in Kuwait, therefore it is not planned to sign any documents. The purpose of the talks is to clarify the approach on the basis of which the accumulated mistrust can be overcome by joint efforts, which will make it possible to build such equality-based relations that will accommodate Bulgaria's interests and will be acceptable for her partners.

There is absolutely no ground for fears that any minority status will be recognized, the minister underlined. He pointed out that Bulgaria has not signed any international agreement according to which Turkey can have the right or ground to raise such a question.

Mr Dimitrov stated that after the changes in the country and especially after adopting the decision to restore the names of the Turkish-speaking and Muslim population, the Bulgarian side is going to the talks with the favourable position of an increased international prestige.

Further on Talks

AU0701223590 Sofia BTA in English 2016 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 7 (BTA)—The sole basis for the development of Bulgaro-Turkish relations is the complete, strict and mutual respect for the principles of equality, independence, sovereignty, inviolability of the territorial integrity, noninterference in internal affairs, unuse of force and threats by force, stated Mr Boyko Dimitrov, minister of foreign affairs, answering a question of the television if the problem of the Bulgarian Muslims' names will be discussed at the forthcoming Bulgaro-Turkish meeting on the level of foreign ministers in Kuwait.

Minister Dimitrov pointed out that the problem of the Bulgarian Muslims' names is regulated on the basis of the principle of all Bulgarian citizens' being equal before the law, a principle laid down in the Constitution of the country. These questions are the internal problem of the Bulgarian people and the Bulgarian state, therefore they cannot be the subject of discussion with any other country, the Bulgarian foreign minister went on to say.

Rally Held in Gabrovo

AU0601211790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] In Gabrovo today, a rally of thousands was held, in which citizens from Kurdzhali—who had arrived in the town in many cars—also took part. A large proportion of the speakers called upon the National Assembly to annul the decision of the Politburo, the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the State Council, and the Council of Ministers on the nationality issue. They made an appeal that decisions of such fateful importance for the people should be adopted only after an in-depth dialogue and on an equal basis with all social and political forces.

Doubts were expressed on whether the integrity of the country would be preserved if the possibility were granted for every Bulgarian citizen to choose for himself his language and national culture.

Nationalists Disrupt Rally

AU0601211890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] Over 1,000 people gathered today at a rally organized in Pazardzhik by the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF]. Georgi Spasov, the UDF spokesman, emphasized in his speech that nationalistic passions are being artificially provoked in the country at the moment with the aim of diverting people's attention from the real problems of restructuring and the democratic process.

A group of about 150 persons began to raise nationalistic slogans with the intention of disrupting the meeting. The presence of the forces of law and order prevented any clashes, but the meeting broke up into two groups, one of which [words indistinct] Bulgaria, and the other—democracy. [passage indistinct]

Roundup of Protests

AU0701163590 Sofia BTA in English 2131 GMT 6 Jan 90

["Demonstrators Insist on National Unity"—BTA Headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 6 (BTA)—Thousands of Bulgarians all over the country spent their day off as participants in

protest demonstrations against the latests decisions concerning the rights of the Muslim and Turkish-speaking population.

In many towns and cities where there are compact masses of this population there were rallies and strikes, the participants in which demanded a referendum on Bulgaria's national policy, guarantees for her territorial integrity, unity and indivisibility.

For five days now the National Assembly have been besieged by hundreds of people who came from different parts of Bulgaria. Despite the cold, citizens of Kurdzhali, Smolyan, Razgrad, Khaskovo, Silistra, Shumen spent there all day and all night. A special aid post of the Bulgarian Red Cross took care of those who had colds. The inhabitants of the capital brought the demonstrators sandwiches, tea and coffee and invited those who were frozen to their homes to get warm.

"Bulgaria is not Cyprus", "Bulgaria United and Indivisible", "There is No Room For National Apostates in the Motherland" are some of the slogans raised at the rally at which dozens of National Flags could be seen to flutter over the heads of the participants.

Many speakers told about sabotages and provocations committed by Islamic fundamentalists: Putting crosses on the doors of Bulgarian homes, flourishing Turkish flags in Bulgarian territory, deliberately destroying production of great value.

At a meeting with Mr Atanas Dimitrov, deputy chairman of the National Assembly, representatives of the rally spoke about their fears.

"We are not discussing human rights. We insist on immediately decreeing a moratorium on the decisions of December 29 and on the new National Assembly's passing a law on a uniform system of names in Bulgaria. Foreign names do not unite but tear apart the people", said an inhabitant of Khaskovo who referred to similar practices in some Western countries like France, Portugal, Luxemburg.

The unity of the nation is the most important precondition for building a real democratic and sovereign state, underlined Mr Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, at a rally in Razgrad, calling upon the participants for reason and high civic responsibility.

The establishment of a Central Strike Committee was announced at the rally. The committee will coordinate the activity of the strike committees within the economic system of Razgrad.

"The decisions adopted on December 29 do not represent the opinion of the Bulgarian people and they must be revised", it is said in the resolution of the eight-thousand-people-strong rally in Burgas. The participants in the rally made a call for a token strike until January 14 and a one-week national mourning from January 16 on, if the parliament does not comply with their demands at its session scheduled for the middle of this month.

Campaigns of protest were launched in Gabrovo, Pleven, Veliko Turnovo, Smolyan.

"Emotions should be overcome and a resistance should be put up against any separatist feelings, but by lawful means", stated Mr Andrei Lukanov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC (Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], at a rally in Ruse. He pointed out that the decisions of December 29 are only the first step towards a nationwide dialogue on determining the country's national policy.

The Dimitrov Young Communist League also expressed concern in a declaration which recognizes in principle the decisions of December 29, but categorically rejects the way in which they were made a way characteristic of the command-administrative system.

The Muslims in the village of Yastrebovo and other villages in northeast Bulgaria expressed support for the decisions which guarantee the right of all Bulgarian citizens to choose their names and religion and stressed that they do not want any autonomy, but only their names.

At a meeting with activists of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) in Kurdzhali the leader of the BZNS, Mr Angel Dimitrov, criticized the way the decisions of December 29 were made. The participants in the meeting adopted a resolution in which they insist that the BZNS Parliamentary Group should make a motion at the forthcoming session of the National Assembly for deferring any decisions concerning the national problem.

At a rally of the Union of Democratic Forces (UDf) in Pazardzhik UDF spokesman Georgi Spasov said that the artificial fanning up of nationalistic feelings is aimed at diverting the attention of the population from the real problems of the restructuring. The intervention of the law enforcement units prevented clashes between the participants in the UDF rally and the protest demonstration in connection with the ethnical crisis that was taking place nearby.

A declaration of journalists members of the Independent Federation of Labor "Podkrepa" protests against "the chauvinistic campaign that has been launched against the decisions of December 29".

Many people from all over the country are expected to arrive tomorrow in Sofia and take part in the protest drive against the decisions, it was announced today at the rally in front of the National Assembly.

Gypsies Support Government

AU0701181690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Text] A rally in support of restructuring social and political life in our country was held in Sliven today and attended by many people. The establishment of an

Independent Democratic Socialist Association of Gypsies in Bulgaria [Nezavisimo Demokratichno Sotsialistichesko Obedinenie na Tsiganite v Bulgaria] was announced.

The organization has adopted a platform based on the improvement of the gypsies' social and cultural standards in our country, defining them as an indivisible part of the Bulgarian nation. The union declares itself against any manifestations of nationalism, chauvinsim, and separatism, and supports the idea of building up Bulgaria as the common homeland of all its citizens.

The participants in the rally were greeted by representatives of the National Reconciliation Committee from Sofia, by the leadership of the Union of Democratic Forces, and by representatives of the Podkrepa Trade Union.

A telegram was sent to the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee and to the National Assembly, which expresses support for the decision of the BCP Central Committee adopted on 29 December 1989.

60 at Stara Zagora Rally

AU0701193890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Text] About 60 people rallied in Stara Zagora in front of the Municipal People's Council Building. They were representatives of the local informal association and curious citizens. Some of the [two words indistinct] from the informal association tried to describe the statements of participants in the "Sunday 150" Sofia radio program in a distorted manner by citing the opinions of individual citizens as the alleged, official stand of the radio station, thus insinuating that Sofia Radio is trying to misinform its listeners.

Some of the slogans at the rally read: "Brothers, Bulgaria needs support and unity, but no Zhivkovists and crusades!" "The local nomenklatura is a barrier against democracy! The National problem is a breath of fresh air for the party and trade union nomenklatura!

Over 200 owners of private automobiles with catalytic converters drove through the streets of Stara Zagora blowing their horns and with their lights on today. They insisted upon eliminating taxes on automobiles with catalytic converters and on the construction of a new gasoline [word indistinct] station for the needs of old people [some heating fuel is purchased at gas stations] and the local community, and that the existing gasoline station should be reorganized to work in two shifts.

'Disastrous Events' Feared

AU0701170290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Text] Dear listeners, I will read to you an appeal from the National Assembly leadership to all citizens of the People's Republic of Bulgaria:

Dear compatriots, we are living through days filled with great tension and great hopes. The processes of renewal are increasingly involving our entire people in solving the country's fate. The national issue is in the foreground. It has turned into a dangerous watershed and is being discussed at meetings and rallies, at demonstrations and in public debates, as well as in every Bulgarian home. The polarization and the confrontation within our society has reached a point beyond which events are unpredictable.

More than ever, today we need a high sense of responsibility, common sense, and self-control, readiness for dialogue, and readiness to accept the hand offered without any selfish considerations, in order to achieve the values that we are all longing for, such as democracy, a peaceful atmosphere, and security for each and everyone of us.

Prompted by all this, the leadership of the National Assembly convenes on 8 January 1990 at 1000 (0800 GMT) a social council to discuss various aspects of the national issue.

I propose that representatives of the Bulgarian population, who are present at today's rally in the capital, the initiative committees from the okrugs that participated in the organization of the rally, representatives of the Bulgarian Turkish-language and Muslim population, the leadership of the National Assembly, the parliamentary groups, and all permanent commissions, representatives of the social forces who signed the joint declaration of the political and social organizations in the People's Republic of Bulgaria, distinguished non-party public figures, the Bulgarian patriarch, and the chief mufti all participate in this meeting.

Through the mass media our public will be quickly informed on the proceedings of the debates and on the agreements reached.

In adopting this step, we appeal to all of you, asking you to refrain from any [word indistinct] actions likely to disturb public order and the peace of the citizens, reads the appeal of the National Assembly leadership to all citizens of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Dear compatriots, we are living through a time in which the country's future for the coming decades is being decided. We are talking about Bulgaria's role in the common European home, in the present, quickly changing, complicated, and controversial world.

Our thoughts and actions should comply with the worldwide trends of the development of human society. There is no other path for Bulgaria.

I appeal to you to ensure a calm week from 8 through 15 January 1990 for the work of the Nationwide Social Council and to elect your most authoritiative and best-prepared representatives to this council and to submit all your proposals to it. I appeal to your patriotism, to your common sense, and sense of responsibility, so that we

may find the most correct way out of the existing critical situation, likely to precipitate into disastrous events for Bulgaria.

Signed: Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly.

Podkrepa Notes Protests

AU0701181790 Sofia BTA in English 1740 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 7 (BTA)—"We must fight against all destructive forces.... There may be an exodus from our ranks now, but there is nothing to worry about, the quality is much more important", this is how Nikolay Kolev the barefooted, an activist of the Independent Trade Union "Podkrepa", commented on the wave of demonstrations in the country against the decision of the Bulgarian Government to restore the names of the Mohammedan population.

Speaking about his impressions of the rallies in Kurdzhali, Nikolay Kolev underlined that they are spurred on by the local leaders. The directors of the enterprises there have given their people leaves of absence to participate in demonstrations and, according to him, plainclothes men of the security forces are inciting the crowds with nationalistic slogans.

Who is taking advantage of these events? The nomenclature, the state security, the people who enriched themselves profiting by the population that emigrated from the country, Nikolay Kolev the barefooted pointed out. He criticized the mass media for not telling the truth on this subject.

Nikolay Kolev's statement has been filmed with a videorecorder and delivered to the Bulgarian Television by a representative of the Independent Trade Union "Prodkrepa". It was broadcast unabridged. -

Fatherland Front Appeal

AU0701201990 Sofia BTA in English 1725 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 7 (BTA)—The Bureau of the National Council of the Fatherland Front today addressed all Bulgarian citizens with an appeal for an active civic position, calmness and normal development of the country.

The continuous protest rallies and demonstrations, the calls for strikes and other actions increase the tension, it is said in the address. They can lead up to grave and unpredictable consequences. Some acts of the Turkish-speaking and Muslim population, for example raising foreign flags, defiant behavior in the public utility services, etc., in their turn aggravate the strained situation.

Further on it is pointed out that the committees, the organizations and the activists of the Fatherland Front who stand closest to the people and its yearnings should take the initiative for energetic and concrete actions for the achievement of reconciliation and consensus among the different circles, strata, and groups of the population.

In its capacity of a unifying factor of all national, democratic, and patriotic forces the Fatherland Front calls everybody to Bulgaria's tricolor banner for the establishment of "a sacred and pure republic," a true democratic and socially just society. Those who really care for Bulgaria should answer the call and go ahead under this banner, the address says in conclusion.

Muslims Submit Declaration

AU0701225390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Declaration issued by Muslims and by the Muslim section of the Independent Association for the Defense of Human Rights in the Asenovgrad Municipality—date not given]

[Text] We, the Muslims from the Asenovgrad Municipality, express our support for the decision adopted by the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee on 29 December 1989. It marks the beginning of a new national policy which will lead to the Bulgarian people's unity on the basis of full and unconditional respect for the rights of all ethnic cultures and religious cultural communities.

In connection with the announcement on the decision, and on the occasion of the response it evoked, we, the Muslims from the Asenovgrad Municipality, declare as follows:

We express our most profound gratitude to the Union of Democratic Forces, which contributed to the adoption of this decision. The decision corrected an injustice against human rights that was legalized by the state in the past. This injustice was periodically committed throughout the last 30 years. We declare our loyalty as Bulgarian citizens and workers who are ready to contribute their share with their own efforts and financial resources in compensating for the political and economic crisis that has emerged.

In order to prove our civic loyalty expressed in this declaration, we appeal to the Muslim population and to all those who support us, who share our views, and sympathize with our fate, to join in a voluntary working day on 27 January 1990, the incomes from which shall be invested for the benefit of the state.

Those who are not directly participating in the production process may join the action with financial contributions. Collection boxes shall be installed for this purpose in the mosques all over Bulgaria.

'Symbolic Strike' Proposed

AU0701225590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Text] The economic enterprises of the Razgrad Municipality are daily producing over 2 million leva worth goods. Pointing out the importance of this fact, the Municipal Council of the Independent Bulgarian Trade Unions in Razgrad urged the working people to come to their working places tomorrow and to participate in a symbolic strike.

7 Jan Events Summarized

AU0701202290 Sofia BTA in English 1915 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 7 (BTA)—The leadership of the National Assembly proposes to form a public council for discussing the different aspects of the national problem.

The proposal was made by Mr Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, and announced by Mr Atanas Dimitrov, Mr Todorov's deputy, at the rally of more than ten thousand people from all over the country which was held here today. Today these people gathered in the capital to insist on revoking the decisions concerning the Turkish-speaking and Muslim population of December 29, 1989.

The council will be made up of the leadership of the National Assembly, representatives of the Bulgarian population delegated by the rally and the initiative committees in the districts that took part in its organization, representatives of the Turkish-speaking and Muslim population, delegates of the major official political parties and public organizations and the parties and public organizations of the opposition, the Bulgarian Partiarch and the Chief Mufti.

In the appeal of Mr Stanko Todorov it is pointed out that the polarization and confrontation in the Bulgarian society has reached the limit beyond which the events will take an unpredictable turn, while the national problem is characterized as a dangerous divide. All citizens of the country are called upon to ensure "a peaceful week" for the work of the council until the session of the National Assembly scheduled for January 15. I appeal to your patriotism, common sense and national responsibility so that we can find together the proper way out of the present crisis, because otherwise Bulgaria may be plunged into a catastrophe, the chairman of the National Assembly said.

Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and General Atanas Semerdzhiev, minister of the interior, also called the participants in the rally to reason and civic responsibility, but they were often interrupted by hissings and shouts "resignation, resignation".

Among other things Mr Georgi Atanasov and General Atanas Semerdzhiev stated that Bulgaria is and will continue to be a sovereign, united and indivisible state and that her official language is and will ever be the Bulgarian language. They both underlined that the country is in position to defend its security, to guarantee the rights and freedoms, the personal safety and peace of all its citizens and called for a dialogue to achieve national unity. "It is easy to achieve unity in one pole, but the boomerang will keep returning. A hard time will befall the country whose people is divided", Semerdzhiev said.

A female inhabitant of Kurdhzali called upon all mothers in Bulgaria to support the mothers in Kurdzhali. She informed the participants in the rally about an act of terrorism committed on September 7, 1986 when extremists of the Muslim population tried to kidnap 50 Bulgarian children as hostages so that they can cross the frontier and go to Turkey. In the last years there have been several bombing attempts in the city and the security forces have caught a group engaged in forming "the government of the autonomous republic". Many times in the last month Turkish flags have been seen on public buildings. "For years on end we've been living in fear", she said.

Officer Ventsislav Evtimov made disclosures about weapons stolen by fanaticized Muslims from military depots and military units. He insisted that the secret information of the security forces concerning the acts of terrorism should be made public.

Demands were made at the rally for a referendum, passing a law which would establish a unified system of names in Bulgaria, the resignation of those who adopted the decisions on December 29, guarantees as to the unity, territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Bulgarian nation.

Mr Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, spoke at a rally in the town of Isperikh. Representatives of the Muslim population there supported the decisions of December 29 and stated that they do not strive for an autonomy, while other participants opposed the decisions.

The Independent Democratic Socialist League of the Gypsies in Bulgaria held a meeting in Sliven in support of the December decisions. The resolution adopted by the rally expresses the readiness of this part of the population to contribute to the establishment of Bulgaria as a law-abiding democratic state.

The rally in Shumen set up a delegation which will participate in the work of the round table on the national problem.

Mass actions in connection of the national problem were held in other parts of the country, too.

Atanasov Statement

AU0701215090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 7 Jan 90

["Excerpts" of statement by Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, on 7 January on Bulgarian Television; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Words indistinct] You are right in requesting that the government should act from the position of a clear and consistent policy and that it should adopt measures likely to guarantee the country's security and calm.

The implementation of the new political course is a difficult and complicated business. We are convinced that the decision we adopted on 29 December is in accordance with nature of the changes that are under way. [passage indistinct].

The implementation of the national policy under the conditions of restructuring should proceed on the basis of a broad, national consensus. This is our irrrevocable position.

The government thinks that in view of this complicated situation we need a dialogue, leading toward national reconciliation and national unification. [passage indistinct] On 3 January 1990, the government met the chairmen of the oblast people's councils seeking a method of solving the most urgent problems. [passage indistinct]

The strict requirement of the Constitution demanding that the Bulgarian language be used as the official language of the state will be strictly observed. However, the practice of raising a foreign flag at demonstrations and rallies in public and private places will be considered a violation of the state sovereignty and will be punished with all the strictness of the law.

The minister of internal affairs has been entrusted, within the framework of the law, to guarantee the opportunity for democratic manifestations, to ensure public order, and to avert and stop anti-constitutional acts and extremist manifestations.

I repeat: All these measures are not intended to restrict the right and opportunities of citizens to express their attitude to the existing problems. The decision of 29 December 1989 marked the beginning of a nationwide dialogue whose goal is common consensus for creating an atmosphere of national reconciliation, of nationwide unity, of mutual understanding, and mutual respect, of a unanimous will to establish our society on the basis of the people's unity, and on the basis of our state independence and inviolability.

I would not like to touch upon economic management questions at this point. We should further discuss these rather important problems, especially in the present stage of our national economy. However, I would just like to point out on this occasion that the disruption of the production pace is [passage indistinct]

We are all called upon to establish the foundations of a new political culture, of a new national behavior. We are ready to participate in all forums that contribute to seeking lasting solutions in accordance with the interests and wishes of our entire public.

The government shall accept all decisions of the National Assembly and shall work for their implementation. In this difficult and responsible hour for the fate of our motherland, the government appeals to the citizens of the People's Republic of Bulgaria for goodwill and understanding. Let us all join our hands for the sake of Bulgaria's future, and try to make it democratic and civilized country that should play a worthy role in Europe and in the contemporary world.

Further on Atanasov

AU0701223290 Sofia BTA in English 2101 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 7 (BTA)—The constitutional regulation for using the Bulgarian language as the official language of the state will be strictly observed, stated tonight on television Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

He underlined that it is inadmissible to raise the flag of a foreign state at demonstrations and rallies, in public and private places. Similar acts are considered an encroachment on the sovereignty of the state and are liable to punitive measures applied with the full rigour of law. The minister of the interior has been assigned the task to maintain public peace and neutralize any anti-constitutional and extremist acts under the framework of law , guaranteeing at the same time the possibility of carrying out democratic activities.

Mr Georgi Atanasov said that the decisions of December 29, 1989 laid the beginnings of a nationwide dialogue for national reconciliation and stressed that the government will accept and implement all decisions the National Assembly may adopt on the national problem.

The prime minister appealed for calling off the strikes which can have a disasterous effect on the country. He spoke about the measures taken by the government to normalize the situation in the country and called for goodwill and understanding, for the assertion of Bulgaria as a democratic and civilized state with her own well-deserved place in Europe and the world.

Strikes Stopped

AU0801073090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0700 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] The newly established All-People's Committee on Defense of National Interests declared that strikes of all kinds throughout the country will be stopped as a sign of goodwill for as long as the dialogue that is conducted in the National Assembly, within the framework of the Public Council on Discussing Various Aspects of the Nationality Issue, continues.

Work Resumes in Smolyan

AU0801103890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] The situation in Smolyan municipality has begun to normalize. This morning at a meeting between Atanas Atanasov, first secretary of the Smolyan Municipal Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, and leaders of the "Rodolyubie" [Patriotism] Rhodope Union, an agreement was reached to stop the strikes and rallies and resume normal labor activity.

Both sides were united by the idea that now, more than ever before, united actions on the part of all social forces are necessary.

Pleven Workers' Declaration

AU0801104290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Specialists from the technological departments of Pleven's "Nikola Vaptsarov" Machine Building Plant sent a declaration to the National Assembly. They declare that they accept the vast majority of Bulgaria's Muslim population as Bulgarians who have been Islamized by force during the Turkish yoke. The specialists of the "Nikola Vaptsarov" plant demand guarantees from the National Assembly for the tranquility of the Bulgarians in Kurdzhali, Razgrad, Shumen, Turgovishte, Omurtag, Khaskovo, Smolyan, and other settlements that last summer suffered all the consequences of the mass exodus of the Muslims to Turkey.

We demand, the declaration reads, that honest and loyal friends, rather than concealed enemies, march together with us along the road of restructuring.

Memorial Fund Opened for Victims of Stalinism

AU2212182689 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 22 Dec 89

[Text] A Civic Memorial Fund has been set up in Bulgaria, the aim of which is to unite public opinion at home and abroad in order to construct a common national memorial to all Bulgarians who fell victim to Stalinism.

The time has come to shed the broad light of day on the truth that took so long to be discovered about the repressions during the period of the totalitarian system. To achieve its goal, the Memorial Fund is counting on voluntary financial contributions and gifts from Bulgarian and foreign citizens, organizations, companies, and others.

The fund will also support the collection of documents, memoirs, secret archives, materials, and other items that have remained, and will ensure they are given wide publicity.

The bank account of the Memorial Fund has been opened at the initiative of the National Youth Theater. The account is at the Bulgarian National Bank, Sofia City Branch, and the account number is 421 111 384 0014.

New Komsomol First Secretary Elected

AU2112123889 Sofia BTA in English 1201 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 21 (BTA)—At three o'clock after midnight the plenum of the CC [Central Committee] of the Dimitrov's Young Communist League elected the secretary of the Komsomol Organization of Kliment Okhridski Sofia University, the 26-year-old Rosen Karadimov, first secretary of the league. He has graduated law and is now studying philosophy at the university. He has been a member of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] since 1984.

Besides the former secretary of the Komsomol, Evgeni Uzunov, five other secretaries of the CC were relieved and four new ones elected.

Todor Zhivkov's granddaughter was dismissed as a member of the bureau of the CC of the Komsomol, while his son Vladimir was deprived of the honorary title "member of the CC of the Dimitrov's Young Communist League [DYCL]."

After a 12-hour discussion the plenum decided to convene an extraordinary congress of the DYCL on February 24.

BZNS Leader on 'Fight for Independence'

AU2112103589 Sofia BTA in English 1957 GMT 20 Dec 89

["Agrarians Fight for Unity and Independence"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 20 (BTA)—"The Agrarians will vote against the 1990 plan and budget as these documents do not assign a real priority to the Bulgarian countryside and to agriculture," Mr Angel Dimitrov, secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS), told Bulgarian and foreign reporters at a news conference here today.

Two days before the meeting of the BZNS Supreme Council, the party's leader spoke about the steps which will be taken to make the BZNS a party of active presence, weight and role on the Bulgarian political scene. "For 42 years we have been a party without a political programme of its own and we have accepted the programme for building an advanced socialist society and the leading role of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP]," Mr Angel Dimitrov said. The agrarian leader indicated that the BZNS faction's motion on the repeal of the constitutional guarantee of the BCP was tantamount to a "declaration of independence" of the Agrarian Party in the National Assembly last week.

Mr Dimitrov said that his party was "working very actively" with all wings of the BZNS which seceded from

the Agrarian Party in 1942. The basic idea now is to rally all Agrarians. "We have a historic chance of re-uniting," he said, adding that the Supreme Council will consider a new BZNS statute and a programme which will create conditions for inner party pluralism.

The party's leadership has suggested that the next BZNS congress be called at the end of February or the beginning of March, at the time of the 111st birth anniversary of Aleksandur Stamboliyski, an agrarian leader who was murdered after his government was overthrown in a fascist coup in 1923. "Of course, the BZNS Supreme Council has the right to set a date for the congress," Mr Dimitrov said.

The BZNS, which partners the BCP in the bipartisan government coalition, now has [words indistinct] members, but this "ceiling" is a result of an "accommodation" with the BCP, with which the admission of new Agrarian Party members had to be cleared. That was hinted at the news conference. Mr Dimitrov said that there were no longer any restrictions on the admission of new BZNS members, provided the applicants accepted the party's policy objectives.

The BZNS leader declined to say whether his party will go to the parliamentary elections in 1990 on an independent ticket. He made it clear that the party will determine its tactics after the adoption of the electoral law, and did not rule out the possibility of a BZNS participation in a coalition government with other parties, depending on the post-election balance of power.

The BZNS now holds 98 seats in the 400-member National Assembly.

Georgi Khristov Elected New Sports Union Chief

AU2112090489 Sofia BTA in English
1947 GMT 20 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 20 (BTA)—Trendafil Martinski, who has been chairman of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Sports Union for 22 years, was relieved today of that position, at his request. Five nominations for a new chairman were raised. Georgi Khristov was elected chairman of the CC [Central Committee] of the Bulgarian Sports Union by a secret vote.

The plenum relieved Krum Vasilchev from the post of first deputy chairman of the CC of the Bulgarian Sports Union.

It was decided to convene the Seventh Congress of the Bulgarian Sports Union, which had been postponed several times over the last two years, on February 16 and 17, 1990.

Human Rights Committee Greets Changes

AU2112075589 Sofia BTA in English
2306 GMT 20 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 20 (BTA)—At a general meeting of the Human Rights Committee in Bulgaria, held today the issue was raised of how this organization which was formal in the past, should turn into a prestigious and popular force which will protect the real rights of the citizens in this country.

A resolution was adopted which reads that the committee welcomes the changes in the country's political state, which have taken place after November 10, 1989.

The Human Rights Committee is ready to participate in a nationwide dialogue and to communicate with all citizens, with their organizations, as well as with the National Assembly and the other state bodies for building of a modern socialist and democratic state ruled by the law.

Khristov Holds Economic Talks in Vienna

AU2112075289 Sofia BTA in English
2226 GMT 20 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 20 (BTA)—On December 19 and 20 Mr Khristo Khristov, Bulgaria's minister of foreign economic relations, paid a business visit to Vienna. He was received by Franz Vranitzky, Austria's federal chancellor. Khristo Khristov acquainted the leader of the Austrian Government with the processes of renewal taking place in Bulgaria after November 10. The Austrian side confirmed its willingness to develop and expand cooperation in the sphere of economy, trade and finances. Khristo Khristov had talks with Mr Wolfgang Schuessel, minister of economic relations of Austria and with Mr Ferdinand Lacina, minister of finance, as well as with the presidents of some leading Austrian banks.

Changes in School Curriculum; Assessments

AU2012210589 Sofia BTA in English
1811 GMT 20 Dec 89

[Text] Sofia, December 20 (BTA)—The Ministry of National Education decided that it is no longer necessary for students to receive marks for their behaviour and to have "pedagogical characteristics." These marks and characteristics were taken into consideration when children moved from one school to another and at their application for the universities and the higher institutes. The ministry removed the "drill manual" for the

schools, introduced in 1971, as well as the instructions for the "activity of the complex for ideological work."

The leadership of the Ministry of National Education decided to propose to the Ministry of National Defence to reconsider the issue about paramilitary training as a school subject.

Due to proved inefficiency of the school-professional complexes, set up a few years back for professional training of students, they will be closed down.

As from this year students will have no marks in the subjects "manual arts," "society and personality" and "social studies."

With the resolution of the ministry, the school leadership will have much greater freedom. Forthcoming is the publishing of "basic conditions for the development of national education." The document will be adopted after a public discussion.

Further Repercussions From Amnesty Reported

Havel Orders Citizens Protection

LD0601143890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1300 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] CSSR President Vaclav Havel recommended at noon today to Richard Sacher, the federal minister of the interior, that there be safeguards by all possible means for the safety of the population against the groups of released prisoners, who are threatening public order, citizens' health and lives, as well as public and private property. This should be done in cooperation with the Czech and Slovak Departments of the Interior. President Vaclav Havel also phoned the psychiatric clinic in Plzen today. He talked briefly to the doctor on duty about Mr Kapek's [former leading secretary of the Prague City Czechoslovak Communist Party Committee] state of health.

Comment on Troop Aid

LD0501213290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 5 Jan 89

[Report on interview with National Defense Minister Miroslav Vacek by correspondent Jaroslav Rektor at Antonin Zapotocky Military Academy in Brno on 5 January]

[Text] Minister of National Defense, Miroslav Vacek visited the Antonin Zapotocky Military Academy in Brno today. At a discussion meeting with students and teachers of this high military school, he answered a number of questions concerning the Army's position in our society, structural changes in the Army, leaving active service, and others. Our reporter Jaroslav Rektor asked the minister for a brief interview.

[Begin recording] [Rektor] The public's attitude toward the Army was discussed here, because the public does not always have the right view of a soldier's mission. On the other hand, it is also true that the Army also ranks among those sectors which cut a rather large slice of the national income. I think, for instance, that at the present time, in connection with the recent amnesty, the Army will have its role to play in filling the workplaces which have fallen vacant as a result of the release of prisoners.

[Vacek] In connection with the amnesty I would like to say that I have recently been asked in the government to express my opinion on the Army's possibilities of giving a helping hand to replace prisoners who have been released under the terms of the amnesty. I do not want to praise the Army but I believe that what would take the civil sector weeks or months to organize, we are capable of doing in the course of 3-4 days. Thus I assure you that we shall be glad to provide 500 workers for the Skoda motor car enterprise in Mlada Boleslav to enable people to buy Favorit cars for which there is such demand, and to ensure that we all would not have to be ashamed that the production of cars has come to a standstill because of an amnesty. I could quote more figures on soldiers who will reinforce the national economy at this critical time. [end recording]

Industrial Void Results

LD0501215290 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Out of the total number of 20,000 prisoners who have received amnesty, around 13,000 citizens have already been freed. The coordination commission of the Federal Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs has registered demands for 8,500 employees from various sectors, mostly from engineering, fuel, and metallurgical sectors. The vast majority of ex-prisoners do not want to remain in organizations where they worked while serving their sentences. On the contrary, in places where they would like to work there is no accommodation for them, which is at the present time the basic obstacle to their immediate integration to labor.

With regard to Army help, it is envisaged mainly by way of reorganizing alternative military service in favor of enterprises which have been most affected. This concerns some 7,000 men. Furthermore, the possibility of recruitment among servicemen serving their 2d year of compulsory military service is also being expanded. In this connection, the commission has pointed out that it would make no sense if the temporary shortage of manpower brought about by the amnesty were to be tackled by an ill-considered import of foreign labor or by long-term military help.

Moravians Demand Tripartite Federation

LD0501201490 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] The Civic Forums in Brno and in Olomouc have begun to unite the South Moravian and the North Moravian viewpoints advocating the renewal of Moravia and Silesia. Principled views stemmed from the discussion, such as, for example, that in modern history Moravians must be understood as Czechs of the Moravian branch; hence the demands to set up a Czechoslovak tripartite federation—that is, Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia—and to return to self-administration.

Havel Faces Challenge

LD0501235290 Prague International Service in English 1900 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] CSSR President Vaclav Havel is facing a new challenge. He has been receiving petitions from Moravia demanding self-rule for that administrative and ethnic region in-between Bohemia and Slovakia, which it had enjoyed before 1949. After the socialist revolution, Moravia was incorporated into Bohemia. In a message to the president, several Moravian cities demanded the matter be settled immediately.

110,000 Communists Expected To Lose Jobs

AU0801115590 Prague PRACE in Czech 28 Dec 89 pp 1,2

["ma"-signed article: "Will Lawyers Be Raking Hay?"]

[Excerpts] Yesterday our daily published the Standpoint of the Action Committee of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, which expresses disagreement with the fact that Petr Miller, CSSR minister of labor and social affairs, signed the new decree on material safeguards for employees laid off as a result of structural changes without discussing it with trade union bodies. [passage omitted]

Petr Miller, the new minister, is naturally an extremely busy man. [passage omitted] In the end, he managed to find a minute for us between lunch and a session of the government.

[Miller] "I am certainly not a minister who lets himself be pushed so that his back is against the wall. [passage omitted] As you know, I am originally a worker by profession, but I cannot agree with some workers' demands. The demands are mounting but the state budget funds are not inexhaustible."

[PRACE] Was it not possible to delay the issuance of the new decree until the situation in the trade unions becomes clearer?

[Miller] "The decree on material safeguards for employees laid off as a result of structural changes must go into force on 1 January 1990 because a large number of staff are expected to be laid off. The Democratic Forum of Communists alone estimates that this will affect some 110,000 former employees of the party apparatus, teachers of the Political College, lecturers, and teachers of Russian. We cannot leave these people without any resources. The situation in the trade union movement is now complicated: The Action Committee of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement does not have people's confidence and has not taken even the smallest step to enter into negotiations with me. The Association of Strike Committees, on the other hand, enjoys the trust of trade union members, is trying to establish contact with our ministry, but does not have the status of a legal subject."

[PRACE] However, the new decree obviously will not apply just to the transitory period of revolutionary changes, but much longer than that. Not only former members of the party apparatus will be affected. Do you think that it is correct when lawyers, for example, are sent to rake hay?

[Miller] "No state in the world will give the guarantee that a laid off lawyer, for instance, will again be able to work as lawyer. And we cannot afford to pay him social assistance until he finds a job that corresponds to his ideas. The example of raking hay is a bit exaggerated...."

[PRACE] What do you think about the Standpoint of the Action Committee of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement on the Statement of the Federal Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs?

[Miller] "I find this standpoint very astonishing at a time when the government of national accord has just been established. The standpoint attacks an important legal provision that was adopted unequivocally for the benefit of working people. I must therefore regard this standpoint as a case of undermining the principles of national accord. [passage omitted] The Federal Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs avails itself of the Central Trade Union Council's approval of the decree. It is dated 24 November 1989 and carries the signature of Jiri Neubert, former Central Trade Union Council secretary. [passage omitted] The Labor Code demands that CSSR Government measures be discussed with the Central Trade Union Council and it is indisputable that such a discussion did take place. The trade union movement should, in its own interest, join forces so that state bodies have a partner with whom to negotiate. From the viewpoint of the Labor Code, the situation at present is such that when issuing regulations concerning labor-related legal matters it is necessary to reach agreement with the Central Trade Union Council. The Action Committee of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement is not the Central Trade Union Council, however, and the Federal Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs is therefore neither authorized nor obliged to negotiate with this body. [passage omitted]

Legislative Elections Slated for 1st Half 1990

LD0501205690 Prague CTK in English 1953 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Prague, Jan 5 (CTK)—Representatives of Czechoslovak political forces meeting for round table talks here today arrived at a conclusion that elections to legislative bodies should take place in the first half of 1990 and elections to local representative bodies should be held later, after the creation of the required political climate in society.

The participants in the round table talks consider orderly and responsible functioning of national committees of all levels the necessary precondition of ensuring the functioning of the state mechanism, representative democracy and its further development.

They agreed to meet for the next round table talks on January 11, 1990.

Government Meets 4 Jan; Agenda Outlined

LD0401132190 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1000 GMT 4 Jan 89

[Text] A federal government plenary session opened in Prague today. It will discuss preparations for the attendance of a Czechoslovak delegation at the 45th CEMA session, a complex of measures accompanying changes to

hard currency exchange rates, a draft federal government statement on former Czechoslovak citizens living abroad, and some legislative proposals.

More on Kapek's 4 Jan Suicide Attempt

LD0501203290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Capt Jiri (?Fait), chief of the District Department of the Public Security Service at Radnice in the Rokycany district, has given CTK more details leading to the unconfirmed report that Antonin Kapek, the former party official, attempted a suicide. Capt Jiri (?Fait) said that before 2000 yesterday, before the event, Antonin Kapek had asked him by telephone to go to a hay barn and that there would be at the door a small wooden case containing a cassette, which was to be handed over to one of his relations. He added that he had been subjected for a long time to psychological pressure to end his life. At the same time he had asked him to call fire-fighters to the place.

As is known, Antonin Kapek was lying near a burning hay barn with a wound in his head and, according to the doctor who treated him, he himself declared that he had attempted suicide. The aforementioned cassette, which Capt Jiri (?Fait) compared with the farewell letter, forms part of the investigation's documents. The whole matter is now being investigated by the Public Security Investigation Department of the District Directorate of the National Security Corps in Rokycany. Antonin Kapek's state of health has so far not allowed him to give his testimony.

Lenin Monument Removed From Prostejov

AU0501210290 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 2 Jan 90 p 4

[Unattributed report]

[Text] A monument of V. I. Lenin has been removed from the center of Prostejov. The monument, the work of National Artist Jan Habarta, had been installed in Prostejov's 9 May Square in October 1977. The square has now been renamed T. G. Masaryk Square.

Prosecutor on Charges Against Stephan, Others

LD0501165090 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] The representatives of the office of the Czechoslovak prosecutor general briefed the parliamentarian commission today on progress in investigating the 17 November events.

According to military prosecutor Lieutenant Colonel (Petr Dite), a member of the National Security Corps has been arrested. This man, who holds the rank of patrolman, is being investigated in connection with his behavior toward the detained demonstrators while they were being transported to the local public security department. He went on to say that the final part of the investigation contains the records of two accused members of the management headquarters. Evidence is being collected in cases concerning other members. The investigators are also looking hard into the activity of the national security unit during its intervention at the National Boulevard. A search for other perpetrators is under way.

Lt Col (Dite) replied affirmatively to the question of whether the investigation is being carried out in line with the criminal code. He noted that the accused are not exposed to pressure and their defense counsels are present at all interrogations.

He also confirmed that Major General Bohumil Carda, former chief of the National Security Corps administration of the capital Prague and the Central Bohemian Region, was also interrogated.

The representatives of the civilian department of the office of the prosecutor general said that no records at their disposal indicate that other civilians, except Miroslav Stepan, former leading secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party city committee, could be suspected of criminal actions. Stepan has so far been charged with abusing the powers of a public official, and this was only in connection with his unwarranted intervention into the extraordinary security action on 17 November. Yesterday, the charge against him was extended on account of similar unwarranted interference into other extraordinary security actions from October 1988 to November 1989. Miroslav Stepan is being judged as a public official in some cases, but not in others. His guilt will be ascertained only by further investigation and it will, of course, be the court that will have the final word, the representatives of the civilian department of the office of the prosecutor general pointed out.

The question of whether the court trial will be public was jointly answered by the representatives of both military and civilian prosecutors, who said that there is no reason for the process to be public, although it is the judges who have the final say in this matter.

The representatives of the office of the prosecutor general also said that the parliamentary commission is periodically briefed about the investigation. Its members are directly invited to the work place of the civilian department of the office of the prosecutor general, where further proceedings will be determined.

Police Post Outside Havel Residence Removed

AU0201173990 Paris AFP in English 1702 GMT 2 Jan 90

[Text] Prague, Jan 2 (AFP)—A secret police post has been removed from outside the home of Czechoslovakia's new president, his friends said Tuesday, in a move that dramatized Vaclav Havel's transformation from pariah to head of state.

About an hour after Mr Havel was elected president last Friday, tractors arrived to remove a trailer that had been parked for years in front of his home, the sources said.

They said the trailer bearing the inscription "Prague Urban Transport" had been used to watch the activities of Mr. Havel, a playwright who excoriated the former hard-line communist regime that ruled Czechoslovakia.

It had been parked on the banks of the Vltava River, opposite the front door of the building where Mr. Havel, his wife Olga, his brother Ivan and his sister-in-law lived.

Police officially charged with protecting the head of state have changed sidewalks and openly set up their post at the other side of Engels Quay, directly in front of the building, an AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE correspondent said.

Havel on 'Return of Ethics to Politics'

AU0501152790 Vienna NEUE KRONEN-ZEITUNG in German 5 Jan 90 p 5

[Article by CSSR President Vaclav Havel: "Return of Ethics to Politics!"]

[Text] Everywhere in the world people are wondering where these obedient, humiliated, skeptical CSSR citizens, who apparently did not believe in anything anymore, got this astonishing strength to rid themselves of the totalitarian system within a few weeks and in this generally calm and peaceful way. We are surprised ourselves and we are asking ourselves where in particular the young people, who have never known any other system, get their desire for truth, their thoughts of freedom, their political imagination, their courage as citizens, and their prudence as citizens. Why did their parents—that is, precisely that generation which was considered lost—join them?

People Are Hiding Behind a Mask

How is it possible that so many people immediately understood what has to be done and that no one needs any kind of advice and instructions?

In my view, this hopeful nature of our situation today has two main reasons: Man never is just a product of external influence, but he always is also able to relate to something higher, even if this ability was systematically suffocated by external influence. Second, it is based on the fact that the humanistic and democratic traditions, which have been discussed so often, were still sleeping somewhere in the subconscious of our people and were quietly passed on from generation to generation so that everyone of us discovers them in himself at the right moment and implements them.

The past weeks of our peaceful revolution have shown the great human, moral, and intellectual power and the high civic virtues of our society, which slept behind the enforced mask of apathy. Whenever I was told that we were such and such, I always objected that society is a very mysterious being and that it is never good to believe just in the one face it shows at the moment. I am glad that I was not wrong.

Self-Liberation From Complexes

After centuries our people have straightened up through their own efforts, without relying on the help of more powerful states. I think that this is the great moral asset of this moment. It harbors the hope that in the future we will not have to suffer under the complex of those who continuously have to thank someone for something. Now it is just up to us whether this development will shake up our national and political self-confidence as citizens in a historically new way.

Self-confidence is not vanity. On the contrary: Only man and the people, who are self-confident in the best sense of the word, are able to hear the voice of the others, to receive it as coming from equals, to forgive their enemies, and to regret their own guilt.

Our first president, Masaryk, wrote: "Jesus, not Caesar." Today this idea has been resurrected in us. I do not dare to say that perhaps we have the opportunity to further broaden this idea and to thus contribute a new element to European and also to international politics.

Masaryk's policy was based on ethics. We should now revitalize this concept of policy in a new way in this new time.

The Desire To Improve the World

Let us learn and let us teach others that politics should be an expression of the desire to contribute to the happiness of the community and not an expression of the need to lie to the community or to oppress it. Let us learn and let us teach the others that politics must not only be the art of the feasible—in particular if one understands this to be the art of speculation, calculations and intrigues, of secret agreements, and pragmatic maneuvering—but that politics can also be the art of the impossible, namely: the art of improving oneself and also of improving the world.

Free Council Leaders Arrive in Prague 6 Jan

LD0601151790 Prague CTK in English 1438 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] Prague, Jan 6 (CTK)—The leadership of the Council of Free Czechoslovakia, which acted abroad on behalf of the subjugated homeland for forty years, arrived here today. It is headed by its Chairman Mojmir Povolny.

In Prague, the delegation was joined by the Council's General Secretary Jiri Horak, who has been in Czechoslovakia since December 16.

The aim of the Council's work was the renewal of freedom, democracy and independence of Czechoslovakia. Due to the new situation in Czechoslovakia, the

Council considers it useful to hand over the results of its work abroad to the Government of National Understanding.

The delegtion was welcomed at Ruzyne Airport by Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Oldrich Bursky and Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier.

Shortly after the arrival of the council's leadership in Prague, Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier told CTK that the visit is very important as the council represents many Czechoslovak compatriots in the United States, including professors, businessmen, financiers and others who are willing to help Czechoslovakia.

Asked about his working program in the nearest future, Jiri Dienstbier said he leaves for Warsaw on Wednesday, then for Budapest. He will attend a conference of the European Council in Venice and will probably visit Vienna. The minister is also invited to Stockholm.

Asked about his opinion on the statement of Zbigniew Brzezinski on the possibility to create a Czechoslovak-Polish confederation, Jiri Dienstbier said that "he personally does not think, and Poles are probably of the same opinion, that the situation can be solved by any direct Czechoslovak-Polish confederation or federation. The problems are very different. It is necessary for all of us to incorporate ourselves into Europe".

Presidium Statement on PZPR Congress

AU0612162589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Dec 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Announcement to All Members and Candidate Members of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia; Party District Conferences on 9 or 10 December, Regional Conferences on 16 or 17 December; Elections of Delegates to the Extraordinary Congress; Possibility to Submit Proposals for Members and Candidate Members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and of the Central Control and Auditing Commission of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia"]

[Text] Less than a week ago, the party's Central Committee decided to convene an extraordinary congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ]. The Central Committee also determined its date—26 January 1990. However, after this date was announced, the Communists began to call for convening this extraordinary congress even sooner. Their demand is quite justified. The dynamic events of the last few days have shown that, if the party is not to lose its political influence on the processes now taking place in society, a new Central Committee, one really capable of action, must be set up; and a program of action which would determine the main directions of the CPCZ's policy under the new and completely changed conditions must be adopted as soon as possible.

The CPCZ has renounced its monopoly of power. The primary consequence of this renunciation for its further activity is that it will be using different methods of work. It must become a modern political party, which will pursue a policy promoting the interests of the working man and proceeding from the creative implementation of Leninist principles and norms.

In keeping with the resolution adopted by the CPCZ Central Committee, the Central Committee Presidium is submitting a draft action program for discussion in the party, at district and regional party conferences, and in the party press. The draft program is to be discussed by all primary organizations at their members meetings, and the suggestions and ideas submitted to the CPCZ Central Committee. The conferences on the preparation of the extraordinary congress will last a single day; the district and city district conferences will be held on 9 or 10 December, the regional conferences on 16 or 17 December. The conferences will discuss the CPCZ's draft program of action and adopt conclusions on the course to be taken by district and regional party organizations up to the extraordinary congress; they will also elect the delegates.

The important thing is that, apart from electing the delegates, the district and regional conferences will also have the opportunity to submit to the CPCZ Central Committee specific names of new members and candidate members of the CPCZ Central Committee and the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission. As to the elections of new district and regional bodies, these will take place at normal conferences preceding the 18th CPCZ Congress.

Many of the primary organizations are in favor of electing the delegates to the extraordinary congress directly, by secret ballot. This is, of course, the most democratic election method. However, there is a serious argument against implementing this method under the present conditions—the time factor. What does it involve? The party has more than 48,000 primary organizations. It is obviously impossible to hold a congress of almost 50,000 people. But to do this differently, for instance by merging into several organizations, would merely mean in practice that one delegate would represent several primary organizations with a large number of members, and another delegate would have to represent several dozen organizations with a smaller number of members, and so forth. The implementation of this method of electing the delegates—as is confirmed by the experience of other fraternal parties, for instance the Polish United Workers Party—would require 2-3 months at least. This is the main reason why the Central Committee Presidium has decided on the election of delegates at conferences. No further time must be lost. The change in the date of the congress will be submitted to the very next session of the party's Central Committee.

Signed: CPCZ Central Committee Presidium.

Adamec on Planned 6 Jan Party Plenum Tasks

AU0401123790 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Jan 90 p 1

[Article by Ladislav Adamec, chairman of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ): "Prior to the Session of the CPCZ Central Committee"]

[Text] We are standing at the threshold of a new year. Like everyone else, we Communists are asking what it will be like and with what contribution to the cause of social progress we shall enter it. We have experienced weeks that were not easy. The party must draw real conclusions from them: This means not only getting rid of the mistakes of the past and parting ways with the exponents of deformations, but it mainly means implementing a realistic and attractive program. It means returning to our intrinsic mission: defending the interests of the people, expressing the standpoints of one's time. It means weighing our actual strength and taking a realistic look at the days to come. What will be at stake?

Above all, we must strengthen and retain a party that is capable of taking action. It must be a party that is built anew from below, on the truly democratic principles of electing people who command authority, who have shaped their own face, and who have understanding for the modern ideals of a socialist and humanistic society. We must strictly assess our deeds, yet we have no reason to renounce the noble ideals of social justice and social progress because of the mistakes of the former leadership, because of the errors of past policy.

Our program is the restoration of socialism, a restoration which fully respects the opinions and attitudes of the people and the democratic, humanistic, and cultural traditions of our nations. The upcoming Saturday [6 January] session of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee must represent a resolute step in developing and implementing the principles contained in the CPCZ Action Program. We will also assume a stand on the party's structure, the building of its new apparatus, the tasks of primary organizations, and the work of Communists in the entire social system. In the shortest possible time we will have to formulate our positions on the policy of the government and its social and economic steps. We must do so not as opponents, but as one of the co-shapers of this policy.

Nothing is more important than that the new bodies which we have democratically elected should always fully respect the views of the membership base. Only then will our voice also be heard in the coming days and months.

Time does not wait. The social changes we are experiencing give our work a new urgency and a new dimension. We are getting ready for free elections, in which we want to acquit ourselves with honor. This is why our policy must be, and will be, open to the broadest sections of the public. The authority commanded by each party member, each party organization, and each party body and their ability to come to terms with the tasks of the present will also determine the Communists' contribution to the shaping of the nature of society as a whole.

CPCZ Central Committee Session Held in Prague

Session Opens

LD0601121890 Prague CTK in English 1126 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] Prague, Jan 6 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee went into the first session here today after being elected at the extraordinary party congress last month.

The Central Committee is expected to assume its stand on the construction of the party and of its new apparatus, on the tasks of primary organizations and work of Communists in the social system.

The participants will elect a 27-member Executive Committee which will replace the former Presidium, three secretaries of the party Central Committee and seven commissions, including a commission for evaluating the political responsibility for the crisis development in the party and society.

Also present are three supporters of the Democratic Forum of Communists.

Adamec, Mohorita Speak

LD0601152190 Prague CTK in English 1421 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] Prague, Jan 6 (CTK)—The consistent separation from previous deformities is the main question of the reconstruction of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ], Party Chairman Ladislav Adamec stressed in his speech at a Party Central Committee session here today.

He said that a new ratio of political forces and a new power structure of the pluralist system have been created in which the Czechoslovak Communist Party is one of sections.

The idea of national understanding is close to the Communist Party and the party is ready to prefer superior interests of the people to the party's benefit, Ladislav Adamec emphasized.

He pointed out that it would be for the benefit of the whole society if present political relations have firmer and more stable character.

The party chairman expressed the conviction that socialism is not dead but represents a real force, an attractive possibility of tackling the present civilization problems of mankind.

In conclusion, he stressed that the political development of this period will rest in the preparation of general

elections. The pre- election campaign should be characterized by political culture and tolerance, which is in the interest of all, he added.

Czechoslovak Communist Party First Secretary Vasil Mohorita presented a report on organizational questions of the party's activity.

He stressed that the Communist Party cannot be a party with a system of orders and their obedient fulfilment but a party of free people with free thinking who are united by desire for a happy and socially just life for all.

Political Executive Committee Elected

LD0601181790 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] In Prague today, the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee held its first session since its election at the CPCZ extraordinary congress. Josef Hora, the CPCZ Central Committee's press spokesman, reports the details:

[Begin Hora recording, in Czech] The course of the session confirmed what was already demonstrated at the extraordinary congress in December, namely that the CPCZ is genuinely transforming itself into a modern, left-wing political party, a party of free people who think freely, to paraphrase First Secretary Comrade Mohorita. The CPCZ is changing from a state institution into an organized revolutionary movement for more rights and a better life for the people. The idea of national understanding is dear to us, and in its interest we are prepared to subordinate ourselves to the paramount interests of the people rather than to narrow party advantage.

On the issue of the elections, the CPCZ chairman said that the party would be entering them with a platform of democratic socialism, and he described the CPCZ's approach to the elections as follows: We share the view that it is in the common interest that the election campaign display a high degree of political sophistication and tolerance, and that denigration, slander, and accusations should be avoided. We intend to make our contribution in this respect, but we expect others to do the same, as well. Let the election campaign be a truly democratic competition between the best platforms.

A 24-member Political Executive Committee was elected, and here I would like to stress that this is definitely not just a whitewash of the former Presidium line-up. It is a new working organ, which should provide a guarantee of genuine cohesion with the Central Committee and the entire membership.

In addition to First Secretary Vasil Mohorita, the following were elected new secretaries of the CPCZ Central Committee: Frantisek Adamek, an executive of the industrial engineering construction enterprise in Prague; Jiri Machalik, a lecturer at the Palacky University in Olomouc; and Ondrej Saling [not further identified]. [end recording]

Session Ends

LD0601203690 Prague CTK in English 1919 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] Prague, Jan 6 (CTK)—A 24-member Political Executive Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee was elected at a party Central Committee session here today. Among its members are the party chairman, first secretary and three Central Committee secretaries.

The Central Committee approved the composition of six commissions, including a commission evaluating the political responsibility for the development in the party and society which will define the share of concrete persons in mistakes and deformites of the past.

Party First Secretary Vasil Mohorita stressed in his final speech that in new conditions, the party must change the system of its functioning. He announced that according to available information, 130,000 members left the party and about 2,000 people entered the party after the extraordinary session last month. It has not yet been decided when a regular congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party will take place. The next session of the party Central Committee is scheduled for February 17.

Adamec Remarks During Session

LD0601212390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2000 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] The Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee, which met today, elected a 24-member Political Executive Committee. Among its members are the party chairman, the first secretary of the Central Committee, and three secretaries. The other members will work in that body alongside their regular employment.

During the session, Ladislav Adamec spoke about his meeting with Professor Zdenek Mlynar, who is ready to cooperate very closely in the theoretical sphere. He had promised to hold further meetings with Ladislav Adamec on his visits to Prague. Ladislav Adamec also announced that Vladimir Dlouhy, the federal deputy premier, had terminated his membership of the CPCZ on 29 December.

Mohorita on Reorganization

LD0701122590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2230 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Excerpts] The consistent separation from previous deformities is the main question of the renewal of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] stressed party's Chairman Ladislav Adamec in his speech at a session of the CPCZ Central Committee in Prague. [passage omitted]

Vasil Mohorita, first secretary of the CPCZ Central committee, went on to say that the proposed structure of the CPCZ Central Committee envisaged a reduction of

the number of employees by 77 percent given a principal change in the organization of its apparatus. He also announced that the preparation of election laws and roundtable talks had been progressing so far in harmony with the aims contained in the CPCZ Action Program.

Support was expressed during the discussion which followed for Ladislav Adamec's statement rejecting an apology for the displacement of the Sudentenland Germans. Those who participated in the discussion stressed that the CPCZ had to defend the workers' interests and their social security. [passage omitted]

Discrimination Against Former Members Denied

LD0301235290 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] In the past few hours, we have received phone calls from several viewers asking about whether or not it is true that the Ministry of Education, Youth, and Physical Education has adopted an internal guideline saying that employees of the former apparatus of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] should not be accepted into education.

This is not true. The ministry has not issued any instructions or any internal directive of this sort. As to universities, which are directly under control of the Ministry of Education, the minister of education has transferred the appropriate jurisdiction to chancellors of universities or deans of independent faculties so that they can fill vacant positions in harmony with the valid legal regulations.

Calfa: Communist Prospects in Free Elections 'Dim'

OW2312050189 Tokyo KYODO in English 0451 GMT 23 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 22 KYODO—Czechoslovakian Prime Minister Marian Calfa said Friday that the prospects of the Communist Party winning free elections slated for next year are dim.

Calfa, who established a new cabinet with a minority of Communist ministers on December 10, said in an interview with KYODO NEWS SERVICE he was dubious of a Communist victory in the elections.

The elections will probably be held after June when legal procedures have been fixed, Calfa said.

He said it was inappropriate for him to be involved in the party activities, indicating a wish to distance himself from the Communist Party.

On the prodemocracy movements which have rocked the nation since last month, Calfa noted the process has been orderly and without any extreme anti-Soviet feeling.

He praised the Civic Forum opposition movement for playing the role of organizing society.

Denouncing the bloody military crackdown on antigovernment demonstrators in Romania, Calfa said Czechoslovakia will withdraw the nation's top honor given to Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu.

Calfa said his country will promote friendship with all countries and expressed special interest in setting up diplomatic relations with South Korea.

He said that by strengthening ties with Western nations the concept of a common Europe home will be realized.

Subsidies to Political Parties Revealed

AU0301142290 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Dec p 2

["nn"-signed report: "About Subsidies to Political Parties"]

[Excerpts] In the report headlined "How the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Manages," published in RUDE PRAVO on 9 December, we provided information about the sum with which the state budget subsidized the CPCZ's operational and investment costs. Several readers have asked us whether similar subsidies are also being granted to the other political parties. To obtain this information we paid a visit to the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CSSR National Front.

In 1988 and 1989, the budget of the Czech Socialist Republic provided Kcs5.1 million and Kcs5.2 million respectively to the Czechoslovak Socialist Party to finance its activity and Kcs9 million in each of the 2 years to the Czechoslovak People's Party. The budget of the Slovak Socialist Republic provided Kcs4.1 million and Kcs3.8 million respectively to the Freedom Party and Kcs7.3 million in each of the 2 years to the Revival Party. However, it is necessary to stress that all of these parties still had their own incomes, which were many times higher than the subsidies. [passage omitted]

At present there is work under way on a draft of an appropriate law which will also resolve, among other things, issues connected with the financing of political parties.

CPSL Party Finances Made Public

AU1812123389 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 13 Dec 89 p 1

["(ED)"-signed report: "Preparing the Congress Is the Main Thing"]

[Text] Bratislava—Emil Polak, director of the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Press Center, Academician Vladimir Cirbes, member of the CPSL Action Committee, and Juraj Benkovic, a CPSL Central Committee employee, met with journalists at the CPSL Press Center yesterday.

Emil Polak expanded on a written report on how the CPSL conducts its economic affairs. In connection with

this, he stated that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia's [CPCZ] overall income represents Kcs1.5 billion per annum; Kcs1.2 billion of this comes from members' contributions. The rest comes from the CPCZ's economic activity. The party uses 81 percent of its income for political activity and 19 percent is allocated to capital investment and building maintenance.

The average monthly salary of a CPSL Central Committee employee is Kcs4,500.

Juraj Benkovic expanded on information on the course of CPSL district and municipal district conferences. He said that many party members want to participate in the CPCZ's renewal but they do not know how. Some delegates suggested completely parting from old forms of work and allowing party organs and organizations, within the framework of the party line, to work according to their own specific methods. Thirty eight new leading secretaries and Action Committee chairmen were elected at the conferences. The CPSL Action Committee rescinded the results of party organ elections at the extraordinary CPSL municipal district conference in Bratislava I where a 5-member executive committee had been elected.

The extraordinary conferences nominated more than 100 candidates for the CPSL Central Committee. Most of the nominated candidates—46 percent—are in the 26-40 age group. Only 9 candidates are currently in the CPSL Central Committee.

Academician Vladimir Cirbes gave a briefing on the work of the CPSL Action Committee and on the preparations for the extraordinary CPSL congress, preparations in which staff from Comenius University Faculty of Philosophy, the Slovak Academy of Sciences, and from other theoretical and specialist workplaces are participating. He stressed that in all the prepared documents which the congress is to discuss emphasis will be placed on the priority of global values.

CPSL CC Holds on Extraordinary Session

AU1812142389 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 7 Dec 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "An Extraordinary CPSL Central Committee Session"]

[Text] Bratislava—Yesterday in Bratislava the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Central Committee held an extraordinary session. It discussed issues associated with the preparations for the extraordinary CPSL congress.

Comrade Ignac Janak, member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, made the introductory speech. He said that the abrogation of the Constitutional article on the party's leading role and the change to the article on the National Front have altered the political system and the CPCZ's status in society. We have been placed in a qualitatively new situation practically overnight. Today the main problem for the Communist Party of Slovakia is that its central organs have neither the trust of party members nor of the public because they did not manage to react adequately or in time to development in society. The blame for the situation in the party and for society's loss of confidence in it lies, first and foremost, with the CPCZ leadership. It lacked unity and openness in evaluating phenomena and processes as well as scope in seeking starting points oriented toward strengthening the party's ties with the people. At variance with Leninist principles, administrative forms and methods were asserted. It was insincerely claimed that we are learning from CPSU experiences; however, the processes underway in Soviet society and in other fraternal countries were not analyzed and practical conclusions were not drawn. In attitudes toward state, economic, and social organs and organizations demands were asserted administratively by means of resolutions and without the necessary dialogue. The party's vanguard political mission was replaced by a power-bureaucratic system which also penetrated the activity of party organs and their apparatus'. These practices were subjected to criticism by primary organizations and by Communists in individual sectors and levels. However, this criticism was not taken seriously. It is a tragedy that we have not learned from our party's history and that we have once more underestimated warnings, cautions, and critical suggestions from Communists, nonparty members, and young people. This also concerns our view of events in 1968, the Few Sentences petition, and other things. The resolutions adopted at the ninth CPCZ Central Committee session on restructuring the party's work have not been implemented.

I also have a share in the mistakes—continued Comrade Ignac Janak—a share corresponding to my length of service in the party leadership. I openly admit that I also had to subject myself to methods and forms that had been long ingrained in the party leadership. However, I supported reform and restructuring and I tried to be among the people. I strived to introduce young blood and to elevate young cadres, to assert political methods and forms in party activity, and to increase the citizens' participation in the creation, implementation, and control of policy. I have not managed to carry out everything that I undertook and that I promised this organ after my election two and a half years ago. In many instances, this was due to the CPSL Central Committee's incorrect and long-term practice of deformed authority and its attitude toward the CPCZ. This particularly applied in cadre policy and in managing lower party organs in Slovakia. Therefore, the CPSL has not fulfilled its role as a national political subject.

The application of a centralist mechanism marked our work in the past and has even influenced our approach during these critical days; this has been subject to justified criticism. With the lapse of several days, we are able to judge that the situation which has arisen required

more flexible and more independent decisions from the party Presidium and the CPSL Central Committee Secretariat.

Comrade Ignac Janak further stated: A substantial part of my life has been associated with work for the CPCZ. Let the appropriate organs as well as Communists in the West Slovak region, where I worked for a long time, evaluate what I carried out in implementing party policy. I know there are various opinions and comments concerning my work. This happens in life. However, I have always been, and still am, concerned about the communist party's honor and about socialism. I declare sincerely and openly that I have nothing to do with any corrupt practices, with the abuse of power, or with tolerating violations of the law and morality. I am making this declaration because attacks have been made against me in this regard.

The present demands that each Communist contributes to renewing the party's work. It is absolutely necessary to defend socialism and not allow it to become identified with some kind of "blank sheet" [stavebna jama]. In this interest, it is necessary to conduct a dialogue with everyone. It is necessary not to give up our ideals, our achieved results, or our obligations toward the working class and the working people. As long as the party needs me, I will always willingly help and participate in its further work.

Comrade Ignac Janak announced his resignation from the CPSL Central Committee Presidium and Secretariat.

It was also announced at the session that Comrade Eugen Turzo has resigned from his post as chairman of the CPSL Central Control and Audit Commission.

After a discussion, the CPSL Central Committee adopted a resolution.

The CPSL Central Committee session ended with the International.

Socialist Party Condemns CPCZ Past Policy

LD0501204190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1800 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] The Czechoslovak Socialist Party Central Committee has convened its national conference for 16 March. It accepted Bohuslav Kucera's request to be released, for reasons of health and age, from the posts of party chairman, member of the Presidium and member of the Secretariat, and thanked him cordially for his many years of work.

Jan Skoda, hitherto the party's central secretary, was elected the new chairman.

In a statement about February 1948, the Czechoslovak Socialist Party Central Committee points out that the Czechoslovak Communist Party's [CPCZ] Stalinist totalitarian political practice after February 1948 grossly violated all civic rights, and initiated a period of lawlessness and abuse of power. It considers February 1948 as the beginning of the totalitarian dictatorship of a single political party, its leaders and officials over the people, including the rank and file members of the CPCZ. This uncontrolled power in the hands of one party managed, over a period of 41 years, to devastate all spheres of the life of society.

Skoda Replaces Kucera as Socialist Party Chairman

LD0501103990 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1000 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Bohumil Kucera, chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, asked today to be released from his office for health reasons. The party Central Committee unanimously elected Jan Skoda, who was leading party secretary.

Jaroslav Safarik, deputy chairman of the Czech National Council, became a deputy chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party Central Committee. Bohuslav Kucera will remain in his state office.

Skoda Interviewed on Election Platform

LD0501214190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 5 Jan 90

["Excerpts" of report on interview with newly elected chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, Jan Skoda, by Vaclav Klement on 5 January—place not given]

[Excerpt] Bohuslav Kucera, the chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, asked to be released from his post as chairman at today's session of the party Central Committee. The new chairman is Jan Skoda, previously the party's central secretary. Vaclav Klement asked him for an interview.

[Begin recording] [Klement] Today's session dealt in detail with the formulation of the policy statement and preparations for the elections. What are the planks of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party's election campaign going to be?

[Skoda] I expect us to formulate suggestions for modernizing our policy in time for the national conference which has been convened for mid-March. Some suggestions were made today, and our party will put them into practice. It is going to call for a return to our state's original title, the Czechoslovak Republic, and for a return to the original state emblem. We want the Constitution to be finalized promptly, and we also want to take part in working out and drawing up a whole series of further legislation. Undoubtedly there will be very important laws on elections and on political parties. In the next few days we intend to put forward our own draft electoral laws, and I hope they will be understood by the public and the Federal Assembly deputies. We also want to respond to certain topical questions such as resolving

the tension which has arisen in society in connection with the problem of military service, especially among students, where this is an exceptionally sensitive political issue. We also want to bring up certain specific issues, for instance we will be recommending that a tablet be set in the Federal Assembly building carrying the text of the original wording of the law recognizing Tomas Garrigue Masaryk's contribution to Czechoslovak statehood. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Further Changes Evident in Newspapers, TV, Radio

Another Change in Masthead

AU0201132690

[Editorial Report] The 28 December issue of Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech is published with a changed masthead. The new masthead does not contain the reproductions of three orders which the paper had been awarded in the past. In addition, the masthead slogan "Proletarians of All Countries Unite!" is published in smaller letters than until 27 December and appears beneath the paper's title rather than above it.

On 29 December on page 2, RUDE PRAVO carries a 200-word commentary by Jarmila Houfova entitled "Without Orders." Houfova explains the decision to drop the orders from RUDE PRAVO's masthead by stating that the newspaper's staff "reached the conclusion that part of being modest is not to pride oneself publicly upon orders and that calling to mind previous awards will do nothing to improve the contents of the newspaper and to give it a more modern shape."

Format, Mastheads Change; Prices Double

AU0501084690

[Editorial Report] The first 1990 issues of several Czechoslovak newspapers received here appear with a new masthead and (or) in a new format.

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 30 December, the newspaper's last 1989 issue, publishes on page 1 a 200-word announcement by its editorial staff stating that in response to readers' requests and because "we regard a small format as more natural, more attractive, and, for many of us, also as more convenient to read," the newspaper will be published in a smaller format as of 1990.

On 2 January (its first 1990 issue), RUDE PRAVO then appears in half its former size, with the number of pages (8) remaining unchanged. In a 400-word leading article, entitled "In a New Form," Zdenek Porybny reiterates the practical advantages of the new format and states that the task of the RUDE PRAVO editorial staff will be to assist the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in its efforts "to get rid of the heritage of Stalinism and become a modern Communist party." He pledges that the paper will "fight for the renewal of the humanitarian principles of socialism and for the birth of a socially truly equitable society and help create an atmosphere of tolerance and understanding, which is necessary for a peaceful transition towards a functioning pluralistic society based on the free choice of citizens." In the article, Porybny also explains the doubling of the price of RUDE PRAVO from Kcs0.50 to Kcs1 on weekdays and from Kcs1 to Kcs2 on Saturdays by the rise in the price of newsprint and the general "economic conditions."

The price of all other newspapers received here is also doubled effective 2 January.

The 2 January issue of Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech also appears in half its former size, in the same format as RUDE PRAVO. In addition, as of 2 January ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY omits from its masthead the reproduction of two orders formerly awarded to the newspaper.

Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech and Bratislava VECERNIK and Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY in Slovak also appear with changed mastheads in the new year.

LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE changes the second line of its masthead, which until the end of 1989 read "Organ of the Czechoslovak People's Party—Holder of the Order of Labor," to "Daily of the Czechoslovak People's Party." In a 150-word editorial commentary on 3 January on page 1, LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE explains that it decided to drop the "holder of the Order of Labor" designation from its masthead because it is reminiscent of "something which the whole nation wants to get rid of as soon as possible."

Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY, too, is published on 2 January without the reproductions of three previously awarded orders. Additionally, instead of being designated in the masthead as "Organ of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food of the Slovak Socialist Republic and of the Slovak Committee of the Union of Cooperative Farms," as was the case until the end of 1989, it describes itself as "the daily newspaper of agricultural and food industry workers and of the countryside."

Lastly, Bratislava VECERNIK in Slovak replaces the reproduction of an order in its masthead with the symbol of the Bratislava Castle. The paper also drops from its masthead the slogan "Proletarians of All Countries Unite!" and describes itself as "the newspaper of all Bratislava residents" rather than as "publication of the Bratislava Communist Party of Slovakia City Committee."

Emigre Journal To Be Published

AU0601211090 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 30 Dec 89 p 4

[Unattributed report]

[Text] The exclusive quarterly ROZMLUVY [Discourse], which is edited by Alexandr Tomsky and has

until now been published in London, will begin to be published by VYSEHRAD, the publishing house of LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE.

New Weekly, Daily To Be Published

AU0601211290 Prague PRACE in Czech 3 Jan 90 p 2

[Unattributed report from the "Briefs" column]

[Text] Before the end of January, the spectrum of Brno information media will be extended with the Moravian weekly KURYR [Messenger] and the daily MORAVSKE NOVINY [Moravian Newspaper].

TV Council Chairman Elected

LD0301225990 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Summary] Miroslav Pavel, director general of Czechoslovak Television, reported on the session of the Political Program Council.

"The Political Program Council met for a second time discussing, above all, its status. After long talks, it approved this status. It also elected Deputy Federal Premier Dr Josef Hromadka chairman of the Political Program Council.

"As to our programs, such as Studio Dialogue, or Column Views, and Viewpoints, they have their stable positionon the screen. This year we should like to offer a series which we have so far called Model for Czechoslovakia. The example of countries such as Sweden, Finland, Austria, or even South Korea and Japan should also provide useful experiences. We have been talking recently about starting a third program. We should like to start it in the foreseeable future; we would call it International Broadcast of Czechoslovak Television. It would represent of a summary of news, art, sport, cultural, and other foreign television programs which we would be able to get for Czechoslovak television in acceptable economic conditions. For the time being we would broadcast only in Prague and Bratislava, but with a gradual extension of technical possibilities, this broadcast could be extended to other transmitters."

Television Chief To Be Replaced

LD0401230290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Czechoslovakian television staff are giving a vote of no confidence and expressing their doubts about the new organizational scheme declared by Miroslav Pavel, the central director [of Czechoslovakian television], on 18 Dec, shortly after his appointment. The reorganization takes effect from 1 January of this year. Neither television staff nor representatives of Czechoslovakian television's Civic Forum branch were consulted about the reorganization proposals, and this was made clear at today's meeting at Kavci Hory called by the new trade union's action committee. The trade union's comments were not accepted by television management, because by the end of last year, only four chief editors were relieved of their posts, but some twenty or so senior managers had lost the confidence of their staff.

In today's discussion, Central Director Miroslav Pavel said he has known for some time now that he is to be replaced.

Meeting With Former Radio Colleagues

LD0401213190 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] An interesting event took place here, in the building of the Slovak Radio, this afternoon. Representatives of our management, the local Committee of Trade Unions, and the coordination committee of Public Against Violence met with the employees who, after 1968, had to leave their work, as well as the collective in which they lived for many years. For many of them, the meeting provided an opportunity to greet their former colleagues after 20 years. But the meeting was not only one of reminiscing—it was rather a platform to realistically assess the situation then and now, with a humane approach towards problem solving.

New Journal for Gypsies

LD0501224490 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 2130 GMT 5 Jan 89

[Text] As early as this month, a cultural educational monthly, designated particularly for the gypsy population, under the title of (Ladzh Ho lal)—Good Word—will appear in Czechoslovakia. It will report on the life of gypsies in our country and abroad and will contain articles on the history and traditions of this ethnic group. The aim of the monthly will also be toward improving the cultural standards of life, toward positively influencing the gypsies' leisure time. Literary and musical output of gypsy authors will appear regularly. The journal will also serve as a thus far absent methodical aid for pedagogues, health care employees, and social workers who take part in the solution of the gypsy problem.

Komarek on U.S. Most-Favored Nation Status

LD0701202890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Text] We reported on 5 and 6 January that a delegation of U.S. congressmen was visiting Prague. During the talks with representatives of our federal government, the congressmen indicated that in the near future the United States may grant the most favored nation status to Czechoslovakia. Valtr Komarek, first deputy federal prime minister, now reflects about the importance of the possible granting of this status:

[Begin Komarek recording] This is a matter which could help a great deal, but only provided that we have further clear concepts of our trade, economic,and technological

relations with the United States. Today Czechoslovakia's exports to the United States amounts to a mere $70 million, which is about two-tenths of 1 percent of U.S. imports. If the customs barrier is abolished—in light of this volume of our export—it will perhaps only mean an extra $15 million in our exports, and this will not help us a great deal. The thing is to understand such an abolition of this customs barrier and the granting of the status of a most favored nation as the opening up of the scope for really broad business activity in the United States and for greater growth rate of Czechoslovak exports with the aim of gradually achieving around $500 million of exports of something of this kind, which could substantially influence our economic situation. This, on the other hand, also implies that our enterprises, commercial institutions, and the tourist industry also have a clear business concept and alternatives, which they themselves must create. To think that everything will be resolved by some round-table talks or by granting advantages would be extremely naive. Such talks merely define a new ground to enable business forces to come into play naturally, but unless these forces come into play, this newly created ground will be of no help if we do not learn how to play this new economic game. [end recording]

First Deputy Premier Receives U.S. Congressmen

LD0501211290 Prague CTK in English 1946 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Prague, Jan 5 (CTK)—Czechoslovak First Deputy Premier Valtr Komarek received here today a delegation of U.S. congressmen, led by John J. La Falc.

Valtr Komarek informed the American guests about the current development in Czechoslovakia and the government's intentions in the economic sphere. He stressed the ideas of consistent orientation on market economy, support for all forms of enterprising and broad international economic cooperation.

The guests were interested in the changes which have taken place in Czechoslovakia in connection with the management of the state and economy and voiced support for suggestions concerning broader and more concrete cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the USA in the spirit of traditional friendship. They also dealt with other intentions of the Czechoslovak Government in the strengthening of democratic principles, development of a pluralist political system and recovery of the national economy.

Later today the U.S. congressmen were received by Czechoslovak Foreign Trade Minister Andrej Barcak.

Komarek on Trade Relations

LD0501220690 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] First Deputy Federal Prime Minister Valtr Komarek received a group of United States congressmen representing both the Republican and Democratic Parties in Hrzansky Palace in Prague today. After the meeting Miroslav Ditrich, asked Valtr Komarek the following question:

[Begin recording] [Ditrich] What results have you so far achieved, or rather what is our government expecting from the visit of U.S. congress in Czechoslovakia at all?

[Komarek] What was involved here were not some kind detailed trade and economic talks but rather a fundamental exchange of views on the current situation and our prospects. I believe that this is very important and normal because in order that people begin to cooperate in sciences and technology and start trading they must first talk to each other. After all, this was for a long time an abnormal state when we were insulting them in our press. Our overseas missions, whether they wre diplomatic or trade ones, were infiltrated by police agents and they knew it. The relations were thus unnatural. No one talked to each other. Thus I believe that only now the matters are getting to a normal state so that these exchanges of views are gradually resulting in quite a natural way in a further cooperation. Individual businessmen are then coming here.

Negotiations are taking place at the level of some of our big enterprises, and I could cite a whole number of examples when such companies like general Electric, Westinghouse and others are showing an interest. We had discussions with some representatives of Western business circles also at the governmental level so I think that the interest is very encouraging and that it is a prerequisite that; provided we know what we want; provided we have concrete concepts but also at the level of enterprises provided these enterprises carried out marketing studies; provided they have some kind of business concepts; provided people there are not going to jostle for positions, for who is to replace who; provided that passions are not inflamed; and provided the enterpereneurial spirit prevails especially at the enterprise level and provided therefore the concepts of the further scientific, technological and commercial development are clarified—so provided we know what we want and provided enterprises show initiative we shall be able to tap very well this great interest. [end recording]

Palestinian Envoy Denies Involvement in Romania

LD0501173190 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Samih Isma'il 'Abd al-Fattah, ambassador of the Palestinian State to Czechoslovakia, paid a visit today to Karel Stary, the central director of Czechoslovak Radio. He told him that repeated reports from foreign sources stating that Palestinians and other Arab citizens were involved in the regrettable and painful events in Romania are untrue.

He went on to welcome the developments that have taken place in the last few weeks in Czechoslovakia,

stating that they would have a positive impact on the development of international relations.

Karel Stary assured the Palestinian ambassador that Czechoslovak Radio was trying to provide objective reporting on the situation in the Middle East, and on the efforts of the people of Palestine for democracy, for the liberation of the territories occupied by Israel, and for self-determination.

Joint Venture With Austria Begins Activity

AU0501185190 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 3 Jan 90 p 3

[CTK report: "Fomex Starts"]

[Excerpt] Hradec Kralove— The Fomex joint stock company with a foreign ownership stake started activity at the beginning of the year. The Czechoslovak side has a 44 percent stake in the capital stock, which is shared by the Fotochema Hradec Kralove production enterprise and the Fotografia Zlin production cooperative. In October 1989, the founding treaty was also signed by two Austrian firms. "The subject of business is the purchase, production, adjustment, sale, technical service, and processing of photographic materials, photographic chemicals, and selected pure and specialty chemicals, including foreign trade with them," Josef Veverka, director of the Fotochema production enterprise, told a CTK correspondent. "Another highly interesting subject of business will be the purchase, sale, assembly, and service (including the provision of spare parts) of machinery and equipment for photographic materials, cameras, video recorders, as well as machinery and equipment for video technology," J. Veverka said. [passage omitted]

Austrian Science Minister Meets Carnogursky

LD0501204590 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Jan Carnogursky, first deputy federal premier, received in Prague today Erhard Busek, minister for science and research of the Republic of Austria, as well as a delegation of the Austrian People's Party in Salzburg. Jan Carnogursky briefed the guests on the current social development in Czechoslovakia and the two representatives exchanged views on the possibilities of deepening contacts between the people's parties of our neighboring countries.

Received by President Havel

LD0501221590 Prague CTK in English 2118 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Prague, Jan 5 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel received here Friday Austrian Minister for Science and Research Erhard Busek.

The talks which focused on extension of bilateral cooperation especially in culture were also attended by Counsellor of Vienna Guenther Englemayer and Austrian Ambassador to Czechoslovaka Karl Peterlik.

Austrian Minister Discusses Cooperation, Travel

LD0501203590 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] [Announcer] Franz Loschnak and Richard Sacher, ministers of the interior of Austria and Czechoslovakia, respectively, met in Bratislava this afternoon. The two ministers exchanged views on topical problems whose solution is within the competence of their departments. Following the meeting, Vladimir Gulas interviewed both ministers.

[Gulas] I asked Franz Loschnak first of all how he evaluates today's talks.

[Begin Loschnak recording] We discussed with colleague Sacher some problems which disturb the Austrian and the Czechoslovak security organs. One of the problems, for example, was the compulsory exchange of foreign currency by Austrian citizens who travel to Czechoslovakia. We assume that this duty will be expended with in the future. We explained certain economic difficulties which the Czechoslovak side has in this connection. We also made progress in the talks with regards to improving the mutual exchange rate of the crown and the shilling. These were the main points of our talks. [end recording]

[Gulas] Asked how he sees the development of mutual relations between Czechoslovakia and Austria, Minister Loschnak said:

[Begin Loschnak recording] Personally, I can say that it is truly unusual that my colleague Sacher offered these talks only a few days after taking up the post. It is a good sign. I am convinced that travel by citizens of the two neighboring states will intensify. In the future, together with the Czechoslovak colleague, we will guide this stream of tourists. Naturally, we shall discuss the question of simplifying passport and customs formalities so that travel is truly pleasurable. [end recording]

[Gulas] I asked Mr. Richard Sacher, our federal interior minister, to assess the talks:

[Begin Sacher recording] Well, I think that it is truly unusual, first, for the ministers of the interior to meet at all. Second, I praise the fact that on Monday the Austrian side phoned saying that they were interested in a meeting—today is Friday and we are already talking in quite factual terms. It is no show just for the public, we are discussing the questions which the minister mentioned here. We shall now continue the talks, and the questions which we are not be able to solve will be left to our experts. However, we think that a certain contribution and certain first steps have been made toward closer contacts and toward a speedy solution of the possible

problems which the increased tourist travel across our borders could bring. [end recording]

[Announcer] Franz Loschnak was also received today by Slovak National Council Chairman Rudolf Schuster. The two representatives agreed that broad possibilities are opening up for deepening bilaterally advantageous contacts and for building goodneighborly relations.

Havel Thanks Austria for Human Rights Commitment

AU0601174090 Vienna KURIER in German 6 Jan 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "CSSR: Havel Conveys Thanks to Austria"]

[Text] During a visit to the CSSR by Austrian Science Minister Busek on Friday [5 January], the new CSSR President Vaclav Havel expressed thanks for Austria's commitment to human rights and democracy in his country. Havel spoke in favor of close, good-neighborly relations with Austria.

No agreement was reached on the abolition of compulsory exchange during talks between Interior Minister Loeschnak and his CSSR counterpart: The exchange of currency continues to be compulsory for Austrians.

On Friday the CSSR government invited all those living in exile to return to their home country and help rebuild it.

SED-PDS Announces 'Peace Initiative'

LD0601113390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1045 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—"Security Model 2000" is the name of a peace initiative put forward by the SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism] today at a session of its executive. As stated by Party Chairman Gregor Gysi, the two German states have to start demilitarization at the center of Europe and lay down cooperative security structures within their treaty-based community. Thus by 1991 the NVA [National People's Army] and the Bundeswehr should be reduced to 50 percent of their current status. All modernization of weapons and military equipment would be halted.

General military service should be set at 12 months in both German states, no units above company strength should be based within a distance of 50-80 km on either side of the border, and training areas should be liquidated in this region. All low-flying exercises should be banned immediately. The two states should have neither submarines nor landing craft in the Baltic, the disarmament proposal continues. Arms production and purchases have to be reduced considerably, and arms sales outside their respective alliances banned. Gysi said the allies are called on to prepare their troops, in a planned manner, for complete, step-by-step withdrawal by 1999, starting in the border region. Nuclear and chemical weapons should be withdrawn from the territory of the FRG and the GDR by 1991.

Without a reduction in military confrontation between the two German states, every word about the unity of the nation lacks credibility, the SED-PDS chairman stressed. "If others cannot imagine a Europe with NATO, our vision of the Germans' future in a united Europe is more peaceful and kinder. There should be no nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons, no tanks, guns, bombers and combat helicopters, from the Atlantic to the Urals. The military blocs should be disbanded in this Europe. Then there will only be weapons—in all countries—for the police in as far as they are necessary for fighting crime and terrorism." [passage omitted]

Gysi Explains Initiative

LD0601200790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1858 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—A disarmament initiative, "Security Model 2000", was proposed by the SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany—Party of Democratic Socialism] on Saturday. As Party Chairman Gregor Gysi explained at a meeting of the executive in Berlin, both German states must start with the demilitarization of central Europe and lay down cooperative security measures in their treaty-based community. [passage omitted]

On the German question, Gysi said that the party wants a sovereign GDR as a socialist alternative and is striving for "a German community within the framework of an overall European confederation." The citizens of the GDR are also Germans who want to become Europeans, not within a limited NATO Europe, but within a united Europe stretching from the Urals to the Atlantic. Chancellor Kohl and other FRG politicians have said on several occasions that "a unified Germany is not conveivable for them outside NATO, there would not be a neutral, demilitarized Germany." The SED-PDS does not want a Fourth Reich, which would strengthen NATO, destroy the balance within Europe, and strike fear into its neighbors.

We do not want the eastern half of a united Germany to become a poorhouse, Gysi said. His party is against big business "swallowing up our factories" under the pretext that the expropriation of their property in the past was illegal, and with the result that the labor agreements that "our workers have concluded with the publicly owned enterprises become invalid," with the result that all social security is lost. The SED-PDS is in favor of a sovereign GDR in which the working people can live as they aspire to.

In connection with economic questions, he pointed out that "we need to introduce redistribution to move gradually away from subsidies for goods and services toward subsidies for people, particularly pensioners and the socially disadvantaged, and, if need be, drastic increases in pensions and wages." One aim must be to introduce a freely convertible currency as soon as possible, and to set out the conditions and methods for doing this. To put this into effect, buying power must be skimmed off, but without currency reform, which would hurt savers. [passage omitted]

SED-PDS Convenes Congress on Mar Election

LD0601124590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1209 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—At its session today in Berlin the SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism] executive convened the party congress to deal with the election scheduled for March 17-18 1990 in Berlin. In this regard, it was announced that the SED-PDS still has more than 1.4 million members.

Gysi Speaks at SED-PDS Executive Session

LD0601095990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0910 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism] extraordinary party congress has opened the gate to radical renewal. Now it is a question of every party member passing through it walking upright. Party Chairman Gregor Gysi stated this in his speech at the beginning of a Party Executive session this morning in Berlin. At present there are many tasks in the program to

make a contribution toward the democratization of the GDR and the stablization of Europe.

Gyai emphasized that the electoral campaign in the country has begun. The SED-PDS is conducting it with the aim of making it possible on 6 May to take on the necessary political political co-responsibility. It is only with the SED-PDS that the GDR has a real future and only with it will there be democratic socialism.

SED-PDS Election Campaign Gets Under Way

LD0701153490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1349 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Text] Potsdam (ADN)—Today the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS] election campaign in the Potsdam Area [bezirk] kicked off with the first political talk show. In the great hall of the former area executive party, Chairman Gregor Gysi answered, in several rounds of a talk show, the questions of the more than 400 guests who had succeeded in getting an entrance ticket.

The focal point of the interest was the proposal of the party, announced yesterday, for further disarmament and demilitarization in the two German states. Gregor Gysi received applause when he announced that all savings through disarmament are to be used for general environmental projects. In reply to questions on the position of the SED-PDS to the CEMA, the party chairman referred to the close interweaving of the GDR national economy with the Soviet Union and the other socialist partners. Therefore, leaving the CEMA is unrealistic. Disarmament and economic cooperation over and above frontiers are the needs of the day. We do not want borders to impede cooperation, and we are striving for a European Germany and not a German Europe.

The party chairman made clear statements on the SED-PDS policies in reply to questions on sports in the GDR and on the education of the young generation. He emphasized: "Economy, science, culture, education and sport cannot be built up without top-rate people. If we in the GDR do not learn to treat top-rate people as such, then we will fall back into mediocrity and the top-rate people available will leave the country." Asked about the position of the SED-PDS toward the trade unions, Gregor Gysi presented the following point of view: "We are in favor of strong, unified trade unions—a split in the trade union is of no use to the working class or all the other workers." The party chairman also declared his support for enterprise councils, especially in those factories and installations where not all workers are members of the trade unions. There the enterprise councils have to see that nothing is resolved without everyone's agreement. Representatives from the factory executive and the communities should also be members of the councils. Such democratic co-determination was, and is, the matter of concern of the revolutionary restructuring in the GDR.

SED-PDS Issues Appeal Against Neo-Fascism

LD0601095190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0607 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—"Be loyal to Karl and Rosa!"—with this slogan the party executive and Berlin Area (bezirk) Executive of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism (SED-PDS) call on the citizens of Berlin and representatives of all political movements in the city to attend the traditional demonstation in memory of the leaders of the German Social Democrats and Communists, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, who were murdered by reactionaries in 1919.

With the 14 January meeting in the socialists' memorial place in Berlin-Friedrichsfelde, which has for generations been the meeting point for thousands and thousands of Berliners on the 2d Sunday in January, the SED-PDS wishes to reaffirm its commitment for democratic socialism, for the social interests of the working people, for the sovereignty of the GDR, as well as for the individual self-realization and preservation of the natural and cultural heritage of the people. On the other hand, the demonstration intends to say a clear "no" to neo-fascism and right-wing radicalism, nationalism and xenophobia, as well as to the economic sellout of the GDR.

In the appeal it says: We declare our support for Rosa Luxemburg: "Freedom is always freedom for those who think differently." Not on account of fanaticism or "justness," but because everything that is invigorating, beneficial and purifying in political freedom is dependent on this essence, and has no effect if "freedom" becomes a privilege." And we say with Karl Liebknecht: In spite of all that!

Democratic Awakening Issues SED Statement

LD0701105190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1002 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The executive of the party "Democratic Awakening" (DA) has assessed the political situation in the GDR and has drawn conclusions for its own role in the present situation. It is stated with concern, it says in a statement given to ADN, that the democratization begun in October 1989 is not making headway and is even taking backward steps. Information shows that old power structures are still preserved or are being newly consolidated. The Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS] is expanding its position in the media again, it emphasized. According to DA, the SED-PDS is dividing society into two groups: left-wing and right-wing forces, with the right-wingers as the enemy. The new concept of the enemy is being used by the SED-PDS primarily to write off the opposition and thus to divide it, it says in the statement. With its struggle against right-wingers, neo-fascism, and nationaliam, the SED-PDS is obscuring the fact that it itself aided and abetted these manifestations.

After all, it wanted to capitalize from this and regain the leading role that it had lost, DA emphasizes.

DA will remain true to its nonviolent and democratic principles in every phase of the election campaign. It will represent a policy friendly to foreigners and not xenophobic, and it is trying to influence young people who are seeking their luck with neo-fascist and nationalist groups on account of the failed education system. DA will not let itself be driven into a "right-wing" corner, and refers to the fact that the social and economic system of existing socialism in the whole of Europe has failed. "In our political wishes and actions, we let ourselves be guided by human rights and the principles and ideologies. Therefore, DA is fighting in the election campaign, not for ideologies, but for concrete meanings."

DA is in no way politically estranged and thus incapable of policies; it is proud of the political debate for the democratic development of an informed opinion. In the GDR the culture of political argument is needed, not the lack of culture of political uniformity.

Opposition Accuses SED of Neo-Nazi 'Trick'

AU0601202490 Mainz ZDF Television Network in German 1800 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Giselher Suhr report]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The former allies have turned their backs on the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS] that dominated everything in the past. For the former bloc parties, the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] and Liberal Democratic Party of Germany [LDPD], the SED-PDS is no longer an attractive partner. At today's meeting in Halle, the CDU Executive spoke against the continuation of the coalition with the SED-PDS. The LDPD has again stressed its abandonment of socialism.

It becomes increasingly clear every day in the GDR that the ruling parties and the opposition are facing a heated election campaign. JUNGE WELT, the GDR paper with the largest circulation, currently focuses on the danger posed by the right. Accusations to the effect that actions against the Nazi danger are an election campaign trick of the SED are being rejected. The SED-PDS paper NEUES DEUTSCHLAND fends off criticism within the country. The party is being accused of using the neo-Nazi trick to win votes. The struggle against neo-Nazis will ultimately be decisive for the future. It remains to be seen whether real democratic elections will actually be possible and whether the hopes of the people will not be disappointed.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Democratic Awakening, the campaign against the right was discussed. The Executive Committee pointed out that there is no progress concerning democratization in the GDR. As a matter of fact, steps backward are discernible. The division of society into leftist and rightist forces by the SED-PDS is an instrument of Stalinist policy.

[Begin Democratic Awakening Chairman Wolfgang Schnur recording] In this way, the SED-PDS is building up a new hostile image—the right. The new hostile image is being used to reject everything that is not subservient to the SED-PDS. This applies primarily to the opposition. The Democratic Awakening was the first victim of campaigns and distortions. Now the Social Democratic Party is also affected. In this way, the SED-PDS wants to split the opposition and also the individual groups, if possible. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Gysi Discusses Private Life, Future Policy

AU0801072490 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30-31 Dec 89 p 9

[Interview with Gregor Gysi, chairman of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism, by Christina Matte and Rene Heilig; date and place not given— "I Plead for the GDR"]

[Text] NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: Comrade Gysi, you have been chairman of our party for almost 1 month. Meanwhile, many readers have told NEUES DEUTSCHLAND that they wanted to know more about you—about your policies and your private life. We certainly do not follow any old pattern if we convey this request to you. Maybe you can first of all give us a few dates that were important in your life?

Gregor Gysi: The most important date in the life of every person is his birthday. I was born on 16 January 1948 in Berlin. Between 1954 and 1966 I went to school, and I graduated from "Heinrich Hertz" extended high school in Berlin. At that time the regulation was that while one attended classes at the extended high school one also had to learn a trade, and this is why I learned the trade of cattle breeding.

I cannot say that this was what I had ever longed for. If you want to know, I had actually opted for becoming an automobile mechanic. However, I was told that enterprises were permitted to employ apprentices only above the age of 16. We were only 14. The headmaster asked me whether I was interested in animals, and I—thinking of dogs and cats—said: Well, yes... . However, I never regretted that I learned this profession. It taught me understanding in a completely new sphere of life, which was of course not very profound, but which I would not want to miss today. By the way, I hope that I am still able to milk a cow. It is a long time since I last tried it. Yet they say that one never forgets how to do it.

Between 1966 and 1970, I studied law at the Humboldt University. I was still a university student when I joined the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] in 1967. In 1968 I experienced the well-known discussions on the invasion in the CSSR. I did not agree with it. I have worked as a lawyer since 1971. I am divorced with two sons.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: It is understandable that our readers want to know more about the chairman of the

SED-PDS [SED-Party of Democratic Socialism]: Unlike other people's careers, you did not come from the "apparatus" and you have never been "crown prince." When did your political life begin?

Gregor Gysi: My political life started when I was still a child. I was of course influenced by my parents, who, having been persecuted by the Nazi regime, are recognized fighters against fascism, and by the stories they told me about their internment in France, the resistance in Germany. This also determined their circle of friends, which in turn had effects on me. As of 1958, my sister and I only lived with our mother, because our parents divorced. All the members of my generation will confirm that, during that era of my childhood, life was extremely political. I remember a fight with somebody in the first year at school, who said that after the war the Russians raped the women here in Berlin. I denied it. The remarkable thing about it was that neither of us knew what it meant. We only knew that it was something negative. That night I asked my parents first, what it actually meant, and second, whether it was true. My father responded with a perfect walk on eggshells by first attempting to explain to me what it was, and second, by saying that, in principle, it was not true, but that there were such isolated cases: He tried to teach me the wisdom of truth in its dialectical form.

It was also a most political time because it was the era of the open border, which we now have again. There were many instances of pupils not turning up at school because they had gone away with their parents. Sometimes a teacher would suddenly not appear, men who had been outspoken supporters of socialism before. At that time, it was easier to say who was a hypocrite than at a time in which nobody was able to leave. I experienced all this very consciously. During my time at school I also remember the famous youth communique of the Politburo, which provided more leeway for young people, which was a relief for us. Then the 11th Plenary Session came and removed this free space and provided exact regulations for how the young people and culture had to develop in the eyes of the Central Committee.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: Subsequently, you went on to study law. Why did you become a lawyer and not a state prosecutor or a judge?

Gregor Gysi: Well, I suppose that, first of all, I must say that I had not thought at all of doing law. Actually, I did not have a precise idea of what I really wanted. My mother and the girl that sat next to me at school recommended law to me, a subject to which I felt as much inner sympathy as I did to cattle breeding before I started my apprenticeship, that is to say none at all. Nevertheless, I studied law. Soon even the basic subjects began to attract my attention. Later I simply took a great interest in law. Once you start studying something at length, it becomes interesting.

It was clear for me from the very beginning that I would not become a state prosecutor. Some people may be disappointed at reading this, but I find it more difficult to accuse somebody than to defend him. It was impossible to become a judge because at that time one had to be of a certain age, and I was 3 years too young. This is why I became a lawyer on 1 November 1971; I went on to take a special university course, and in 1976 I received a doctor's degree in legal theory.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: What was the subject of your thesis?

Gregor Gysi: .... Wait a second, it was about.... This is much too complicated. In plain German it meant: How far can the interpretation and the application of law go, and where does interpretation begin to violate against the law? Put even more simply: How free are the judges to interpret the law and where are their limits?

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: Well, you seem to have picked a most controversial subject.

Gregor Gysi: My whole career as a lawyer has been characterized by controversies, because my way of acting on behalf and defending people has resulted in the fact that, apart from a general or "normal" circle of clients, I have also acquired a circle of "certain" clients. I hated it that, whenever people were politically not acceptable, one twisted or tried to twist the law. This does not mean that I supported the policies of all my clients.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: It is striking that at the moment, particularly, lawyers seem to be destined for assuming leadership positions.

Gregor Gysi: This is probably due to the fact that this was one of the few professions where, even in the era of Stalinism, one was forced to learn to challenge the state. After all, this was not typical. In such a time, one's future course becomes determined if one has to learn this and has enough courage—even though one was protected by law, although the victims included even a few lawyers.

There are two more factors. First, being a lawyer, one is familiar with the entire range of problems that move the people to come and see you. After all, people do not usually consult you when they are happy. Most of the time they are in an unhappy and controversial situation. Since one is bound by professional secrecy, one learns, of course, of many internal matters. Second, a lawyer must be able to speak freely and react quickly.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: We could see that you are able to speak to large crowds and to sound convincing when you spoke in Alexanderplatz and in front of the former Central Committee building. Will you also talk to the "man in the street?"

Gregor Gysi: Well, I am not quite sure who this "man in the street" is. I have my problems with this term and, actually, I am not ready to accept it—not even in commentaries. All I can say is that dealing with workers and peasants is nothing new for me.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: Do you think that a worker can feel well represented by you?

Gregor Gysi: I have no idea. I cannot say that at this moment, because the workers want many differing things. It depends on who you are referring to. If you refer to those who want immediate unification of the two German states, then they certainly do not feel well represented by me. The others, who want to maintain social security in the GDR—why not?

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: Anyone who is new in an office necessarily has many appointments. On 18 December you attended an event at which the Adass Jisroel community, which was dissolved and expropriated following a Gestapo decree in 1939, was given back its old rights. Was this only one appointment of many in line with the protocol?

Gregor Gysi: No, this has something to do with my antifascist basic attitude with which I grew up. This dark chapter in German history, the killing of 6 million Jews, is something incomprehensible, it is difficult to duplicate or imagine emotionally. Yet if one has a postcard from Auschwitz from one's own great grandmother, on which one can read that she is in a sanatorium and that she is well, and if one learns that 2 days later she was gassed, then the 6 million become very individual. It was grotesque, bureaucratic, and showed a lack of instinct that its property was not returned to this community for decades on the grounds that it was foreign property.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: Speaking of antifascism, there are comrades from our parents' generation who are now having doubts as to whether the work of their lives will survive history. Some are even scared. What is your opinion in this respect?

Gregor Gysi: That generation of communists, socialists, social democrats, and humanists who, in their struggle for a better world, took to the streets, fought, were deported to concentration camps or had to emigrate, do not at all have to be ashamed. Irrespective of the political mistakes which the parties of those days committed—if this is how history will assess it—the following decisive fact remains: They sacrificed themselves in an unselfish way for a better future, for their fellow citizens, who paid hardly any attention to the resistance fighters or even despised them. The past leadership is today being accused of exactly this lack of unselfishness, which, from a moral point of view, is worse than political mistakes.

That generation can also be proud that, beginning in 1945, with dedication, passion, and insight, it tried to build a better Germany, a Germany from which only peace and never again war would emanate, a Germany of humanity and social justice. A great deal was achieved on this path. However, this path was been so distorted by the Stalinist system that the achievements can hardly be recognized today. We must remove all things negative as soon as possible so that we can once again recognize our achievements.

Those generations have not lived in vain. They prepared the ground on which we stand today and have the opportunity to develop a democratic socialism. On what other basis would we build it had they not made their contribution before? What if they had not achieved the nationalization of property, and so on... . They prepared the ground and we all permitted this ground to be abused in such a way. Politically, I accuse the party leadership, particularly for the attitude it had assumed since 1985. I admit that before it was difficult to pursue an independent path; after all, we were also a child of the USSR. We were able to deviate from the structures there only in part, which we even did. However, the developments were bound to lead to a crisis when people started to become conceited and even arrogant at the beginning of the revolutionary restructuring in the USSR in 1985.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: The political teachers the party offers range from Marx, Engels, and Lenin, to Bebel, Liebknecht, Luxemburg, Kautsky, Bernstein, Thaelmann, Pieck, and Grotewohl. Whom do you feel closest to?

Gregor Gysi: This would require a very detailed answer, because I know how rapidly misunderstandings can develop. First of all, I would also include Lassalle, and Paul Levi, an important man in the history of the party, who has been absolutely underestimated and whose life has not been sufficiently studied, which is unfair. I think that all those who were ready to make a theoretical and—or—practical contribution to the liberation of the workers' class, or to improving its social conditions, deserve our respect and not our condemnation. Subsequently, I can critically study his teachings and his practical policy.

Marx is, of course, an absolutely outstanding theoretical phenomenon among these personalities. This holds true also for Lenin and Engels. The reason why we stopped using the term Marxism-Leninism is to be sought in the syllable —ism, in the danger not to denote the scientific method but the dogma. It had been practiced as a dogma during the decades. With this term we forced our social scientists to somehow stop working scientifically. After all, a quotation from Marx, Engels, or Lenin was considered a proof, which, of course, it cannot be. By the way, social scientific work also means that when I say that at the greengrocer's we do not only want to chose between cabbage and apples, a completely new agricultural theory will be established... . It is not the scientists' job to justify statements of politicians, but politicians must implement what has a scientific basis.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: This requires that politicians know a lot and that they are modest. A journalist of DIE WELT characterized you in the following way: "... East Berlin jurist—with a hat in the style of Helmut Schmidt, very dynamic appearance, without a hat he looks like an 'egg-head,' has an enormous 'output' of ideas... ." What do you think of that?

Gregor Gysi: Well, let us wait for his opinion in a few months time. New forms of responsibility require a new kind of personality: When one does not give orders one must convince others. I will still have to prove whether I have creativity and so on ... .

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: ... Particularly now in the election campaign, which has somehow already started. Comrade Gysi, what are you pleading for?

Gregor Gysi: I would hope that we can enter the elections as an ethically purged, self-renewing party, as a party that is credible, that represents democratic socialism and social security, a party that is elected because, among other things, it assumes a great responsibility for our country and will continue to do so in the future. At present I can see no other movement that would be in a position to take on this responsibility. I can see only a vacuum. What this country needs least now is instability. We achieve stability by cooperating with other political forces, but not without the SED-PDS.

I plead for the GDR: We announce our absolute determination for independence and sovereignty of our country, for the resolution of the German question in a European framework, not as a German special path. We support open, peaceful, friendly but secure borders and a comprehensive treaty-based community with the FRG, but oppose any absorption by the FRG, any German-nationalist frenzy. We must learn to become more European. Thus, I support, among other things, the creation of genuine conditions for travel also to Paris, London, Rome, or Madrid.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: You, Wolfgang Berghofer, and Hans Modrow are being referred to as a "troika." Do you like that?

Gregor Gysi: No, I do not, even though I like both of them very much. However, I also like other people in the Presidium, and we are only in the process of getting to know one another. Troika... this sounds too much of triumvirate, of a certain constellation of power, and concentration of power, which simply does not and ought not exist.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: Can you imagine that the old portraits in the schools will be replaced by a picture of yours?

Gregor Gysi: No, I would not permit it. I have the right to protect my own personality, to protect my own picture.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: By the way, are you a passionate hunter?

Gregor Gysi: No, I have never hunted in my life. I like to go to concerts or plays, and I like reading; I do not know what happens when I do not have the time for all this any more.

Or is the question intended in connection with the old leadership? The answer is again negative, because it would be contradictory to my humanist spirit.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: Does social envy play any role?

Gregor Gysi: Nonsense. I have been a lawyer for 18 years, I have worked hard and therefore I have made good money. My apartment is in a new block of apartments and normally furnished, I have some money in the bank, a piece of land where I spend my weekends, and a private car. The accusations of corruption are not directed against property that is protected under the Constitution—by the way, this applies to party property, as well—but against the way and the degree in which certain people received certain goods or services for free or too cheaply, or even such goods other citizens were unable to acquire even with payment. The same applies to privileges that had no justification whatsoever, such as huge hunting grounds for individuals or individual families.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: How do you perceive the future of your sons?

Gregor Gysi: One of my sons works as a typesetter in the printing shop of NEUES DEUTSCHLAND. My younger son, who lives with me, is learning the trade of a car mechanic. I perceive their future in the GDR, in a democratic country, where each of them will have the opportunity to develop himself. It depends on them what they make of it. The sad thing about the past was the uniformity, of which we must rid ourselves.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: Last year was an eventful year that brought revolutionary changes. What would you like to wish the comrades for the New Year?

Gregor Gysi: I wish us all enough self-assuredness and confidence in ourselves so that we can meet the political responsibility in this country, and make the contribution that this country needs so badly. This is in the interest of peace and stability in Europe, in the interest of the identity of the people, and of social security and the future of every individual.

I wish us all the necessary strength to bear this responsibility. I also wish that those who have honest intentions and who see a new chance, will return to our ranks. I wish everybody health, courage, but also optimism, happiness and a sense of humor.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: Thank you very much.

Gysi Warns Against Radicalism, Neo-Nazis

LD0501140490 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1230 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Statement by Gregor Gysi, chairman of the Socialist Unity Party-Party of Democratic Socialism, on the "Pulsebeat of the Times" current affairs program; date and place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] What is important now is for all democratic forces to nip things in the bud. Otherwise, we will be overrun by neo-Nazism and similar phenomena, leaving little to do but complain. We simply have to make use of our special tradition and our particular strength. After all, the treaty-based community, for which we aspire, cannot mean our being overrun by neo-Nazis from the FRG and West Berlin. I know that the Republican Party is on the point of staging its own marches in our capital. That must be prevented. There is a greater requirement for the state to come forward, with the government having to face greater responsibility. If we have a division between party and state, it must be clearly reflected in this context. [passage omitted]

I have to clearly state that we do need security bodies capable of protecting us from foreign espionage and economic damage caused and staged from abroad as well as, more than anything, from right-wing radicalism. I thus also have to surmount certain experiences from the past and speak up for not tolerating any free space in this area, which might otherwise be exploited by anti-democratic elements. If we are in need of a democratic revolution, we must also be prepared to save that democratic revolution from its opponents, including the neo-Nazis. They must not get the impression that all areas can be freely intruded into without facing state authority or the opposing will of the people. [passage omitted]

We have to conduct serious research in this area, something that has long been suppressed. What happens now is what we get in return. The rule of the past was not to do anything in contradiction to the intended outward appearance. Today, however, we must seriously deal with the root causes of right-wing extremist tendencies and the spring of neo-Nazism also in our country, for only if the causes are known, can such phenomena be faced. The current inflow from the West aggravates and complicates the conditions and problems. [passage omitted]

Once a certain limit has been passed, state authority must come forward. We have laws and they must be enforced. The security bodies must not idly sit and watch the spread of neo-fascist slogans. [passage omitted]

Defilement of Treptow Memorial Noted

AU0801094490 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Dec 89 p 1

[ADN/ND report: "Treptow Memorial Defiled"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN/ND)—Anti-Soviet and nationalist graffiti on the Treptow memorial in Berlin! They were discovered on Thursday morning [28 December] by members of the People's Police. Eight sarcophagi and the base of the crypt were defiled overnight with graffiti, such as "occupiers out," "community of peoples instead of class struggle," and "nationalism for a Europe of free peoples." A complaint was filed against unknown perpetrators.

At present the letters, which are over 40 centimeters high and were made with a color spray, are being investigated by members of the criminal investigation department. Experts will remove the shocking graffiti. The memorial will remained closed temporarily.

Republicans' Party Program Viewed

AU0701202490 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2 Jan 90 p 2

[Hans Jacobus editorial: "Schoenhuber's Visions"]

[Text] The "Republicans" have issued their 1990 party program in Bonn. According to a printed explanation, it is a draft. The visions that are described here are as clear as Chairman Schoenhuber's political origin. According to the Republicans, Germany's division is the centerpiece of tensions in Europe. They say that it is necessary to overcome the status quo and to defend freedom, and in addition those must be rehabilitated who were sentenced because they attacked the Soviet Union with Hitler.

The followers of SS man Schoenhuber address everybody, and they also offer something to everybody: Protection of the poor, promotion of the young, sports on a broad basis, a good health policy, "thorough and profound" science. We read about the Christians' moral obligations, policy for the middle class, environmental protection, monetary stability, safeguarding the subsistence level, as well as slogans on housing construction and social affairs, against speculation and for animal protection....

Everybody can pick what he likes best, just like in a mail-order catalogue. However, at the end of the program, everybody is confronted once again with the "open" German question—open also with regard to the Memel region and generally the "German regions in the east." In addition, the Soviet Union is supposed to become Russia again.

Many people in our country are concerned about a shift to the right and worse things; they have a good memory and are on the alert. Is the danger from the right not an urgent topic for socialists and liberals, devout Christians and Greens? Does it not require appeals by churches, parties, and citizens' organizations to demonstrate antifascist vigilance? Is it not urgently and absolutely necessary to act jointly against those who advocate pan-Germanism, and to act jointly against a policy that is being smuggled into the GDR, a policy the vision of which reminds us of the worst past?

Those who want to prove their worth to the electorate today should make their position on this issue absolutely clear and should take a firm stand against the danger from the right. The joint statement against neo-fascist tendencies in the GDR, on which the participants in the roundtable agreed despite all the other differences, is a hopeful beginning in this respect.

Further Neo-Nazi Graffiti Discovered

AU0601202890 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3 Jan 90 p 1

[ADN report: Further Graffiti and Brawls by Neo-Nazi Groups"]

[Text] Dresden (ADN)—Late on Monday [1 January] unknown perpetrators painted neo-fascist slogans in the center of Pirna. They smeared "Hitler lives," "We are here—REP," and other fascist slogans in red and yellow paint along meters of shop windows and walls.

During the evenings and nights of the past days, neo-Nazis also swarmed around the city area of Goerlitz. They smeared walls with invectives such as "foreigners out," "vote REP," and "Jews out." The memorial of the Association of Persecutees of the Nazi Regime in the city on the Neisse was smeared with swastikas. Antifascist slogans were painted over or turned into neo-fascist slogans.

Gysi Speaks at Antifascist Rally

AU0501210790 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 Jan 90 pp 1,2

[ND report: "Our Country Now Needs a Broad Unified Front Against the Right"]

[Excerpts] East Berlin—On Wednesday evening [3 January] at the Troptow memorial for the Soviet soldiers who fell during the liberation of Berlin from fascism, more than 250,000 had gathered for a demonstration against the right. [passage omitted]

"We simply owe this rally this evening to ourselves, but also to the USSR, the CPSU, and to Mikhail Gorbachev himself," Gregor Gysi, chairman of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany—Party of Democratic Socialism, said. "Not only did the Soviet armies and people free us from fascism, but it was again this country that introduced perestroyka." Only perestroyka facilitated a democratic change in our GDR. Therefore, no kind of anti-Sovietism, which always also is chauvinism and nationalism, will be tolerated. "Our country is in danger, in danger from the right. We have to banish this danger; otherwise we need not start discussing a democratic conflict of opinions and other things. How do we want to vote democratically if the neo-Nazis occupy all free spaces here." Words alone are not enough.

Referring to the intention of the "Republicans" to come to the GDR capital city by the thousands and to start activities here, Gregor Gysi said: "If we want to preserve the sovereignty of this country, we must not permit them to come. And where these neo-Nazis cross the border—and many of them have already crossed it—we need state authority again." Democratic but determined actions based on the rule of law by our security organs are necessary. The rightists must not be permitted to ruin the chance for democratic socialism in the GDR. Our country must not become an abode of neo-Nazis. "Let us form a unified front against the right. Let us struggle for democracy and progress in this country and let us prevent everything that destroys the antifascist principles of this country!" Gregor Gysi stated. [passage omitted]

LDPD Supports Joint Antifascist Actions

AU0801104390 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 4 Jan 90 p 1

[Olaf Opitz report: "LDPD for Joint Antifascist Action"]

[Text] East Berlin—On Wednesday evening [3 January] a demonstration against the right took place at the Treptow Memorial. Over the past few days, parties, organizations, democratic movements, and groups had called for this rally. The reason was the increased occurrence of neo-fascist action in the GDR. At the demonstration, numerous speakers condemned the recent defilement of memorials and cemeteries by neo-Nazis.

Among the participants in the rally were acting GDR State Council Chairman Manfred Gerlach, Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer, Berlin Mayor Erhard Krack, as well as USSR Ambassador Vyacheslav Kochemasov, generals and officers of the Eastern Group of Soviet Forces, and other Soviet citizens.

In his speech, Hans-Dieter Raspe stated on behalf of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany [LDPD] in front of the Treptow Memorial: "We all have to face the fact that in our country, too, there are phenomena of hatred of foreigners, anti-Semitism, use of force, and nationalist Germanomania, whose perpetrators call themselves skinheads.... Groups, which call themselves 'Faschos,' even openly support Schoenhuber's 'Republicans' in the FRG. They have political motives for their positions, and therefore we have to counter them politically everywhere in our country."

The speaker said that Liberal Democrats will join in this and will face the joint responsibility so that the process of democratic renewal will not be defiled by the outsiders of society.

"Our country is in danger, in danger from the right," Gregor Gysi said. Words alone are not enough, the chairman of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism admonished. He also warned against emerging anti-Sovietism.

The rally, at which a broad unified front against the right and against neo-fascism was called for, was also attended by top LDPD politicians Christian Renatus, Manfred Brendel, and Armin Behrendt.

NDPD Protests Against Extremist Activities

AU0801113090 East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 4 Jan 90 p 1

[NZ report: "Berliners Protest Against Neo-Fascism"]

[Text] East Berlin—Over the past few days, parties, organizations, democratic movements, and groups had called for a broad unified front against neo-fascist actions in the GDR. Yesterday an expression of will "against the right" took place in front of the crypt of the Berlin-Treptow Memorial for the fallen Soviet heroes.

"My party, the National Democratic Party of Germany [NDPD], as a consistently antifascist party, has deliberately joined this militant demonstration against the dangers from the right in the GDR." This was stated by NDPD Chairman Guenter Hartmann, who participated in the rally yesterday evening. "Because the dangers," he continued, "are real ones. In view of the defilement of memorials to the Soviet soldiers, who fell in the struggle against German fascism, in view of neo-Nazi graffiti and physical attacks on GDR citizens, there is, unfortunately, no question about this. However, this must not have any place in our country!"

"Therefore, the NDPD categorically protests against extremist activities that are hostile to the Constitution and condemns them as detestable. This rally gives evidence of the determination of the democratic forces in the GDR—and our party profoundly pledges allegiance to them—to join for antifascist actions in order to repel attacks on democracy and human dignity. Shock must not paralyze. It must give rise to vigilance, to joint actions. This is urgently necessary. Therefore, many NDPD members have participated in this demonstration. The political climate of antifascism and its resistance forces must be strengthened for the sake of internal and external peace because the GDR was born out of antifascism and is loyal to it. This must remain so. As a German state, it bears particular responsibility for this. My party, too, is deeply rooted in antifascism and preserves this. Therefore, it acts with determination against old and new nationalism, against hatred of foreigners, and anti-Semitism. It works for truly national and democratic and humanistic values, for openness toward the world, understanding among peoples, and, in particular, German-Soviet friendship, and for confidence building."

The range of those who had called for this action, who addressed all citizens or mobilized their members and followers, is broad: the executive committees and leaderships of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism, the Committee of Antifascist Resistance Fighters, the Society for German-Soviet Friendship, representatives of the initiatives "For Our Country" and "United Left," the leading bodies of the Democratic Peasants Party, the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany, and the NDPD, the founding groups of the "Carnations," Spartakist groups and the Trotskiy League of Germany, the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin (SEW) and the Socialist Democratic Workers Youth (SDAJ), as well as many other antifascist and democratic movements from both parts of Berlin.

Effective Protection Against Neo-Nazism Asked

AU0801095890 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Jan 90 p 1

[Gerd Prokot commentary: "Only in May?"]

[Text] Compliments to the Gera Criminal Investigation Department. In less than 48 hours, relying on specific tips from the population, they were able to find the culprits who had defiled the Soviet soldiers' cemetery on New Year's Eve.

More than 1 week has passed since the defilement of the memorial in Treptow Park, but the investigations have not yielded any indications of the potential perpetrators, as I was told yesterday at noon when I inquired by telephone. Investigations are continuing, they say. Regarding the graffiti in Goerlitz and Pirna, there have not been any results either.

The members of the criminal investigation departments there are certainly not less clever than their colleagues in Gera. It is also not due to a lack of eagerness that the villainous acts have not been cleared up. The explanation probably lies rather in the fact that here and there a "security vacuum" has opened up into which neo-Nazi and other forces are advancing. They have taken advantage of the fact that existing structures are dissolving and that new ones have not yet developed. The National Security Office practically does not exist anymore, the documents about the activities of the ultra-rightist scene have been "put on ice," even tracker dogs have been dismissed because of their "previous record."

Nobody wants to revive an infamous institution like the State Security Service. There is a social consensus on this. There is also a social consensus about the danger that emanates from neo-Nazism, no matter how and where it starts. This danger cannot be countered solely by moral education—even though this is bitterly necessary. The antifascist nature of this country and the need for security by its citizens require an effective protection by an Office for the Protection of the Constitution with integrity in every respect. And not only some time in May.

Berlin-Treptow Demonstration Criticized

AU0801110690 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Jan 90 p 1

[Rolf Schuler commentary: "Interjection"]

[Text] Everybody will probably understand that large-scale rallies like the one on Wednesday evening [3 January] in front of the Treptow memorial are certainly suited to demonstrate one's opinion in an impressive way but will hardly impress neo-Nazi smearers and hit squads. In particular because of the necessity to prevent a strengthening of the brown group, sociologists, teachers (young ones), psychologists, and other experts should meet instead of putting these groups into the limelight.

As much as we all welcome and call for consistent action *against the brown evil spirit, as determinedly we reject* antidemocratic forces that want to strangle the "fascist monster" by—see the distributed fliers—stopping the "social-democratic advance," by calling for the workers militia again (we have just got rid of them!). Such groups signed the invitation.

I, as one who was present at the Treptow demonstration, also noticed that counting is not everyobody's strong point. The officially announced 250,000 particpants do not add up, even with the best will in estimating and with realistic comparisons with other large-scale events. A mishap?

Newspaper Answers Charges on Neo-Nazism

LD0601104690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0406 GMT 6 Jan 90

[From the Press Review; "NEUES DEUTSCHLAND on Charges of Exaggerating the Danger of Neo-Nazism"—ADN headline]

[Excerpt] [No dateline as received] Neo-fascist danger? Exaggeration! This is what is heard from liberal and Christian Democrat circles, with an accusing glance at the SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism]. It is only a trick by the party, it is bringing out the bogeyman to win votes. However, recent events show that neo-Nazism is not an "invention" of [SED-PDS Chairman Gregor] Gysi's, but an existing threat. To deny it only because the SED-PDS is its most energetic opponent is at least questionable.

Was it not just announced to the public by the Social Democrat side that the existence of the SED-PDS in this country favored the coming into being and growth of extreme right-wing and neo-fascist forces? On the other hand...they do not favor the danger, but exaggerate it. Where is the logic in this? And where are the liberal spirit, Christian ethics, and Social Democrat responsibility. [passage omitted]

Jews Anxious About 'Right-Wing Radicalism'

LD0701141190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1041 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Jews in the GDR are following the problem of right-wing radicalism with attentiveness and anxiety. They are concerned by violence and prejudice against those who think and live differently, and those from different ethnic backgrounds. In an interview with ADN, Dr Peter Kirchner, chairman of the Jewish community of Berlin, again spoke strictly against a legalization of neo-fascist, racist and anti-Semitic ideas. The interview has the following text:

Question: How do you view the problem of right-wing radicalism in the GDR?

Dr Kirchner: It is very complex. We Jews are following the development attentively and anxiously. At the same time, we see as hopeful the wide-ranging resistance *against such manifestations that pervades all parties, as* well as social and political movements. [passage omitted]

Question: There are rumors that the East and West Berlin Jewish communities wish to amalgamate. Is this true?

Dr Kirchner: No. As long as there are two German states, the rumor is without foundation. We Jews are GDR citizens and see ourselves at the same time as part of the Jewish people. In this respect, we have close contacts to Jews and Jewish communities all over the world and, because of the proximity, naturally also or especially to West Berlin.

Question: Fears of a possible German unity are continually expressed from Israel and via international Jewish organizations. Do you share them?

Dr Kirchner: We share the fear that such a Germany could impede European unity and we are afraid, as are others, that the reason for German division should be forgotten. As Jews we had, and we do have, the obligation to point to the German responsibility and German guilt for the mass murder of our people, of the Gypsies, of Soviet citizens, Poles, the people of the Netherlands, and people from many other European nations. [passage omitted] On 9 November 1989, the Wall fell. These are two historical events that have made history. But the newer of the two should never blot out the remembrance of the older event. [passage omitted]

New Forum Members Note Movement's Problems

AU0301125190 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 2 Jan 89 p 4

["M.Schl." report: "No Time To Dream About a Third Way"]

[Text] Berlin—Is the split within the New Forum less dangerous for this opposition group than it appears to be? Reactions in the north of the GDR have apparently been calm. Rainer Ohff, chairman of the Rostock group, told DIE WELT that he is in favor of the New Forum remaining a mass movement. "However, it is certain that the New Forum will participate in elections. If the new electoral law should only allow parties to take part, we must draw the required conclusions." The New Forum's supreme goal is a coalition of reason because if "6 May does not provide equal chances for all, if the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] continues to be powerful, people will emigrate in large numbers, and this will lead to an extremely critical situation."

"We will assume responsibility wherever the people want us to," Pastor Joachim Gauck, member of the Presidium of the GDR Church Conference and of the New Forum, stresses. "We will assume mandates in the people's representative bodies, even if the controversy over the issue whether we should become a party or not

has not yet been settled." It is clear, however, that the majority in Rostock would prefer not to become a party.

Burden of the Past

If one assumes political responsibility, one also carries the burden of the past, Gauck told DIE WELT. "However, we will show new determination and not indulge in socialist dreams. We will try to provide a solid economic basis for the new developments." In this connection, the New Forum wants to pursue a policy that is oriented toward human values. This is also an invitation for those who still have a positive attitude toward socialism, Gauck points out.

The ailing GDR society is currently undergoing a dynamic healing process. However, two great fears still prevail: "The former members of the state security system, as well as those who worked in the bureaucracy and who are no longer needed today, are afraid of the future. However, everybody is concerned because new freedoms entail new fears. Many are asking themselves where all this will lead us. Are we gifted and strong enough to achieve everything we dream about? In any case, we have no time to dream about a third way for years," Gauck warns. If so many professors have been assigned the task of developing a new economy, at least a few results should become visible. However, they do not exist so far. "For this reason, I am in favor of pursuing a realistic policy that advocates the market. This will also be included in our program, even if the market will not dominate the entire political direction."

Concern Over State Security

"We must arrive at an undogmatic approach toward the capital and the economic processes." Fear also emerges in this connection, Gauck states. On the one hand, many want more prosperity and self-confirmation through performance. On the other, people are asking themselves whether they would be among those who succeed in surviving in the new competitive society.

Gauck describes breaking the link between the state and the SED as an essential step. "We want the SED organizations to be removed from the combines, the enterprises, the People's Police, and the Army. We have achieved initial successes in these areas. We hope that the party will soon be excluded from the power apparatus." The people's greatest concern, however, is that former powerful officials, including officials from the state security system, might unite and pose a new danger.

The opposition is asking itself to what extent Prime Minister Modrow can be trusted. "Modrow does enjoy confidence," Gauck points out, "but he is in Berlin and people see every day that the old things persist. This gives rise to fear among the population."

New Forum Announces Protest Against SED-PDS

LD0601153290 Hamburg DPA in German 1504 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—The largest opposition group in the GDR, New Forum, has announced demonstrations against attempts by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] to retain its apparatus of power.

The co-founder of New Forum, Rolf Henrich, said in an interview with BILD AM SONNTAG that the SED wanted to make the people submissive again. Claims of a growing neo-Nazi violence are intended to raise the level of fear again.

Henrich made it clear that the election campaign in the GDR would turn into a farce if the SED continued to retain all the reins of power. For this reason, New Forum demanded access to the communications network of the SED and its political apparatus. "If the SED receives advantages in the elections on the basis of its outdated privileges, this will inevitably produce a falsification of election results."

New Forum's Draft Program Statement

LD0701152290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1138 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—The Program Statement by New Forum [NF], the draft of which is before the delegates at the Leipzig Conference this weekend to be passed, contains 7 points as well as 22 immediate demands.

Under the heading "Our Country At A Fresh Start," Point 1 defines New Forum as part of the popular movement that came to life at the time of the GDR's 40th anniversary. The NF arose as an independent citizen's movement for public scrutiny and restructing of the political and economic conditions in the GDR that had become unbearable. It now has a double task: Removing the old structures irrevocably and advancing the construction of a new, democratic state that is accepted by its citizens. It is a matter of the existence and future of the country "that many generations of our forefathers built and that we want to hand on to our children in a habitable state." Once it has been set in motion, the restructuring of the GDR cannot halt at internal tasks.

The whole of humanity is threatened by an ecological collapse, by unbounded arming and by the smouldering North-South conflict. The GDR bears its share of blame and effects. For this reason, New Forum supports radical disarmament and the demilitarization of society, a new world economic order based on solidarity instead of the eternal merry-go-round of debt for the countries of the Third World, the responsible use of science and technology while sparing resources, and taking into account social and ecological affects.

It goes on to say: Once more everyone is talking about government, constitution and roundtables, as if the

revolution can be forced through from above. NF's program is a contrast to this, with its emphasis on the mobilization of the individual and the grass-roots group. Democracy needs free elections, but it is—above all—day-to-day behavior. NF wants a society based on solidarity that lives on its citizens' self-determination and tolerance and that guarantees social justice and pluralism.

Point 2 of the draft Program Statement defines New Forum as a political platform for all citizens who do not think the existing parties capable of putting into effect a committed democratization oriented toward the grass roots. Party politics reduces interests to election slogans and postpones their being put into practice until election dates. It divides citizens into electoral blocs. However, there are many problems on which the specturm of opinion transcents the parties. For this reason citizens' movements such as NF must be on elected bodies.

New Forum works as a countrywide citizens' initiative that is organized into local and factory grass-roots and subject-based working groups. It supports the cooperation of all grass-roots democratic initiatives and is open to citizens of different ideological and party opinion. NF however rejects misanthropic, racist, and totalitarian thoughts and actions, as well as those that glorify violence.

The citizens' initiative intends to organize extraparliamentary democratic support. NF supports local autonomy and democratic control of all areas of social life, working life in particular. New Forum sees its mandate to take part in local and People's Chamber elections in these thoughts, it says. It is prepared to take on a political responsibility. NF sees itself as part of a European rapprochement growing from below. It regards all emancipatory citizens' movements in East and West as its natural allies.

The following program points formulate programmatic consequences that emerge from the way that the NF sees itself. Point 3 gives proposals for the democratization of political life. New Forum sees itself as a lawyer for grass-roots democracy. In addition it says: Real democracy provides for basic rights for the citizens, the protection of the citizens against the predominance of the state and public in all state matters. This is why New Forum calls for a new constitution and effective constitutional and administrative jurisdiction.

The NF is in favor of a constitutional law based on the petition for a referendum, a plebiscite, and legislative initiative. The administration should correspond to the requirements of the citizens, not a centralized scheme. It should be radically reformed. This includes the re-establishment of the states [laender], their parliaments and state governments. This would reduce the administrative apparatus substantially and strengthen the cultural identity of the citizens. The states ensure a needed counterbalance to central power. Greater independence of the communities is essential. Elected citizen representations in the residential districts with their own financial incomes must be created. Members of all the democratic parties, trade unions, organizations and pressure groups, as well as independent citizen representatives, could stand for election to these bodies.

New Forum is against a monopoly of the parties in fielding candidates for the local government representations of the people. There should be no areas in which the citizens have no elected representatives or spokespersons. The way in which persons can be dismissed from public office when failing to do their duty is to be reregularized. This should not remain the sole province of their superiors, or of the bodies of which they are members. All information must be accessible to the people's representations, the media, the political organizations, as well as individual citizens. Therefore, the NF is calling for the obligation to give information and accountability of all public institutions.

The fourth point of the draft is devoted to the subject "Woman and Society," which reads: Women, in a GDR society determined by men, are socially disadvantaged despite formal equality, equal vocational training, and professional duties. A society that exists at the expense of women is rejected by New Forum. It calls for the social equality of men and women. The basis for this is equal opportunities for training, jobs and family accepted by the whole of society. This requires a just wages policy, more part-time employment and the recognition that bringing up children is a social labor performance. Society needs women's refuge houses and advice centers. To ensure that women can make "their" alternative contributions to the way of life of the existing male society, a quota system for filling all the electoral offices is essential.

Point 5 comes out against the current bureaucratic command economy. The NF is in favor of separating the economic organism from the state apparatus. State property should be transferred to social property of the enterprises working in sole responsibility and economic independence. The cooperative and private industrial sector, above all as regards the subcontracting industry, services, trade and public utility as well as agriculture, is to be strengthened and expanded considerably.

The abolition of the dirigistic-administrative planned economy would stimulate the market-oriented competition. The NF demands that limits be set to the market whenever it tries to get the upper hand over enterprise or social democracy, or undermines the ecological and solidarity bases of society. In order to prevent the planned dictatorship turning into a market dictatorship, the NF supports strong trade unions independent of the political parties and the effective control of economic fundamental decisions of the enterprise managements through democratically elected works councils.

Decisions on capital shares by foreign firms and other forms of economic cooperation can only be brought

about with the agreement of the works council. New Forum pleads for the right to work. Economic rationality should not be gained through unemployment.

Man, as a part of nature, will only be capable of living in the future if he succeeded in maintaining such bases of life as the air, the soil and water, it says in Point 6. Today's industrial societies are in the process of destroying these bases. For this reason, New Forum supports society's ecological restructuring. A balanced relationship between ecology, economics and the social demands of the individual was necessary. In order to reduce damage, the principle that the pollutor pays must be committedly put into effect in industry and agriculture. Actions that are conscious of the environment should be given tax breaks and comprehensively promoted. A thoroughly new concept about energy should be directed toward reducing the emission of pollutants, the more efficient use of energy, as well as toward energy sources that renew themselves and not toward forcing the nuclear power program.

In Point 7, NF professes its belief in special relations between the two German states. They are based on the historical unity of the German nation and should be expanded from the treaty-based community right up to a confederation. The situation of two states can, however, only be completely overcome in a common European peacetime order regulated by treaties. Borders throughout the whole of Europe should neither hamper business nor family relations nor cultural exchanges. Germany policy should be carried out as a national contribution to reducing the great international conflicts. The rapprochement between the two German states is taking place solely within the postwar borders and does not infringe upon the interests of third states. NF supported the demilitarization of the two German states and the disbandment of the military blocs.

TV To Broadcast Next Roundtable Meeting

LD0501230290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1902 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The next roundtable debate will be broadcast live by GDR Television. The programs' directorate announces that next Monday at 0900 [0800 GMT 8 January] is planned as the broadcast time. The talks will be broadcast on the second channel.

Roundtable Meets for 6th Session

LD0801085390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0803 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The roundtable met Monday morning for its sixth session at the Berlin Niederschoenhausen Castle. Representatives of 16 parties and political groups expect today to discuss a report from the government representative on the dissolution of the Office for National Security, specifically, Dr Peter Koch. GDR Television is covering the debate live. [passage omitted]

Radicalism Discussed

LD0801095590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0921 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—At the beginning of the roundtable discussions that are taking place for the sixth time today in Berlin, the participants discussed questions of right-wing radicalism and ways of dealing with each other democratically.

Democratic Awakening would not let themselves be pushed into the right-wing corner, stated its chairman, Wolfgang Schnur. He emphasized the necessity of not building up any concepts of the enemy between those participating at the roundtable.

Hans-Deiter Raspe (LDPD) [Liberal De nocratic Party of Germany] asked that increasing neo-fascist tendencies should not to be made a subject of the election campaign.

His party was against right-wing and left-wing radicalism.

Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism Chairman Gregor Gysi suggested that they agree on criteria for the conducting of a fair election campaign.

Markus Meckel [Social Democratic Party spokesman] emphasized that the "neo-fascist hysteria" in the GDR had a calculated character and was aimed at providing reasons for a transformation of the former Office for National Security into a constitutional protection office.

Several speakers reaffirmed the resolution against right-wing radicalism, already passed by the roundtable in December.

United Left's Gehrke Quits

LD0801092380 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0827 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Bernd Gehrke, the representative from the United Left initiative, today resigned from the roundtable. Free-lance author Mharion Seelig took his place.

The United Left initiative remains open for future electoral alliances if viable, joint political positions are drawn up and legitimized by the grass roots. This was reaffirmed in a statement given to ADN yesterday by the movement. At the same time, on the subject of the misunderstanding in the 4 January statement of the Berlin Council of Spokespersons of the United Left, carried in several of the media, Bernd Gehrke clarified in yesterday's statement that his signature to the statement for a 1990 electoral alliance has been withdrawn.

Briefed on Security Office

LD0801114690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1056 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The government representative for the dissolution of the Office for National Security, Peter Koch, briefed the roundtable on Monday on the current steps for the dissolution of the office. With immediate effect, one person in a position of trust and three further representatives of the opposition will be able to cooperate in his commission.

All the weapons of the current office are to be impounded by the end of this month and handed over to the ministries for national defense or internal affairs, Koch said. The public will be informed about this by 1 February. The possibility of weapons being removed by former employees of the office already has been prevented.

According to the government representative, 25,965 employees left the services of the office by 5 January. All the former 216 district (kreis) offices have been vacated and 85 percent of them handed over to new owners.

All the dwellings of the former office have been handed over to the local housing authorities. The use of the former holiday centers of the office will be handed over in the future to the trade union's holiday service and, to a lesser extent, to hard-currency tourism.

It is the intention of the government to examine and revise the arrangement of bridging loan payments for former employees of the office, Koch announced. The roundtable will be informed about this on 29 January.

Representatives of the opposition parties and groupings demanded further details about the remaining personnel, the disarming, as well as the logistics of the former office. They objected to the employment by successor organizations—such as an Office for the Protection of the Constitution—of those employees of the Office [for National Security] who in their view are too incriminated. They generally came out against the creation of such an Office [for the Protection of the Constitution] without the consent of the roundtable before the elections.

Resolution on Elections

LD0701100990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0907 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Leipzig (ADN)—New Forum will continue to remain a citizens' movement. However, it will constitute itself as a party if an expected new electoral law were to rule out participation in elections by political associations. The first day of deliberations of a national delegate conference of New Forum in Leipzig ended with this resolution on basic principle late yesterday evening.

Delegates from all areas [bezirke] decided that their opposition group will be organized as a citizens' movement in grass-roots groups. At the local level, councils of spokesmen will be formed in districts [kreis], areas or laender [states], as well as a council of spokesmen for the republic for united statements of political opinion.

The resolution passed by a majority of the approximately 150 delegates envisions putting up non-party candidates for all elected bodies, entering into an electoral pact and, if required, a coalition with other democratic groups and parties and favoring election according to person rather than party to a sensible extent. [passage omitted]

Statute Provisionally Adopted

LD0701131490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1136 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—This morning at the countrywide delegates' conference, the revised second draft of New Forum [NF] statutes was provisionally adopted with a great majority. Four written motions that are still before NF will be worked on by the next countrywide delegates' meeting on 27 January in Karl-Marx-Stadt, and then put up for discussion again together with the womens' question. A quota regulation was rejected for the time being.

The first delegates had already left when the 2d day of the New Forum delegates' meeting in Leipzig began today. Of the 13 points on the agenda, only half had been worked on. Sunday started with discussions on the statutes and program. After the minimum age for NF members had been set at 16 years, questions on economic control and political responsibility were discussed. Established principles concern the forming of opinions and the expression of political will in a democratic process from the bottom to the top, organization according to the geographical principle, structured in grass-roots groups, regional, area and republican organizations, as well as a forum on strategy to take place every 4 years. A quota regulation on membership for women was rejected with a two-thirds majority.

An attempt to exclude the representative from "Aktuelle Kamera" [television program] from the delegates' meeting—for supposed tendentious reporting—failed. It also caused displeasure to Western journalist colleagues.

The conference continued with discussions on calls for demonstrations and strikes with which NF grass-roots groups wish to oppose an Socialist Unity Party of Germany restoration policy, and wish to call for an actual disbanding of the Office for National Security, as well as no reformation of it before new

Might Leave Roundtable

LD0701144590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1403 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Leipzig (ADN)—More than two-thirds of the barely 150 participants in the Leipzig countrywide meeting of delegates from New Forum agreed this afternoon on conditions for further work at the roundtable in Berlin. According to this agreement, this body was to be

left immediately, and in a demonstrative fashion, if the People's Chamber resolves to set up secret services before the People's Chamber elections. This step should, if possible, be taken in agreement with the other opposition participants at the roundtable.

A motion to limit the validity of all government statements up to 6 May was rejected on legal grounds. [passage omitted]

Conference Ends

LD0701163790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1602 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—The New Forum ended its 2-day countrywide meeting of delegates in Leipzig, at around 1630 this afternoon. In view of controversial and sometimes time-consuming discussion, numerous questions remained unsettled, in particular those relating to the program of the citizens movement.

They are to be resolved at the next countrywide meeting of delegates on 27 January in Berlin, planned originally for Karl-Marx-Stadt. The scheduled news conference was also cancelled.

German Forum Party Releases Statement

LD0701210290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2017 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Text] Karl-Marx-Stadt (ADN)—The founding committee of the German Forum Party [DFP], today sent the following statement to ADN:

For the clarification of the situation in the New Forum, the DFP considers the following observations necessary: The German Forum Party is the party that has emerged from the New Forum and is commited to the revolutionary ideas of the citizens' movement. The German Forum Party unites all those members who have recognized that the realization of political objectives on a long-term basis is possible only within a party. It therefore conflicts with the views expressed by the former initiative group of the New Forum, which firmly opposed the formation of a New Forum party. We offer the possibility to all members of our country's largest opposition group to work at all levels as members of the DFP. We remain willing to cooperate with all members of the New Forum.

* NDPD Publishes Draft Election Platform

90EG0089A East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 30 Dec 89 pp 4-5

[Publication by the National Democratic Party of Germany (NDPD) Working Committee Preparing for the 14th Party Congress: "Election Platform of the National Democratic Party of Germany (Draft)"]

[Text]

1. Our National and Democratic Responsibility for Our Country The NDPD is a centrist party, a party with a future,

a national and democratic party with a fundamental traditionally anti-fascist position, a party of peace and of open debate. The focal point of its policy is the ideal of the free individuality of each person as a precondition for the public welfare of our country. It devotes special attention to the living conditions of women and youth.

It acknowledges the entirety of German history, in which the two German states are rooted. It is associated with the national and democratic legacy.

It takes up the traditions of German humanists and patriots, revolutionary and radical democrats, and carries them forth. It honors the national and international achievements of great Germans in science and technology, in culture and art. In all of this it sees important roots for its national identity.

The NDPD, based on its national and democratic responsibility, is

for: a democratic, profoundly humane polity, with inalienable moral, social, and cultural values,

for: equal opportunity for all citizens, i.e., equal living, working, and developmental conditions while consistently realizing the principle of work performance, and functional role according to specialized competence.

The special duties of the woman in the family and in society must be accorded due attention here through special rights.

for: social guarantees as well as social security, especially for the weak within society, protection for pensioners and the handicapped,

against: a profit-oriented, me-first society.

The NDPD is

for: a democratic society that is truly national and German in the best sense,

for: equal rights and respect in coexisting with all other nations and nationalities. In our country this applies to the Sorbs,

against: nationalism, neo-fascism, and hostility to foreigners,

against: racism and anti-Semitism.

As an initiator of the confederation concept, the NDPD is

for: a federation of two independent states within the German nation with different social orders, which must be more than a contractual association. It is for the unity of the German nation through confederation, and sees this as the way to solve the national question.

This confederation is possible only within the framework of the formation of a common European house. The thrust for the structure of the European house must emanate from it. In this way, it will serve the goal of cooperation on an equal basis, the disarmament process, the security partnership, and the development of trust in Europe. A peace-treaty arrangement could promote this development.

2. For the Democratic Renewal of the GDR, Based on National Responsibility

The NDPD is

for: the consistent realization of all human rights,

for: unlimited respect for human dignity,

for: freedom for citizens who are of age,

for: a true democracy under the rule of law.

The NDPD is

against: any dictatorship,

against: terrorism, violence, anarchy, and chaos,

against: any form of defamation, intolerance, and exclusion of respectable citizens.

The NDPD is

for: a People's Police that serves the needs of all citizens for protection,

for: national armed forces as an army of the people, and not as an army of a party,

for: firm legal measures and interstate regulations to control misuse of the open border by the drug mafia, black-marketeers, speculators, and by illegal arms imports.

The NDPD is

for: the division of power, meaning:

—freely elected, independent parliaments,

—a government and administration fully empowered to take action,

—an independent judiciary,

for: publication and public monitoring of all affairs of state,

for: disengaging the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] from all structures in the state, legal system and economy, science, education, culture, and sports,

for: equal status for all parties that are committed to democracy in our country.

The NDPD is

for: an administrative reform that will drastically cut back on bureaucratism and administrative outlay,

for: restoration of the laender [state] structure, which has proven its vitality historically and is in keeping with local ties.

This structure facilitates a confederation with the FRG.

for: self-administration of the cities and municipalities.

The NDPD is

for: the new political culture of the GDR and favors cooperation with democratic groups and political movements.

3. For a Radical Economic Reform, Based on National Responsibility

The NDPD is

for: a fundamental and complex economic reform, which will urgently effect a rapid stabilization of production, and guarantee a continuous production flow and the socially secure existence of workers in a healthy environment,

for: an economy determined by social needs and ecological requirements and oriented towards the market,

for: greater participation in the international division of labor,

for: equality of the enterprises of all forms of ownership, effective support for entrepreneurial initiative, fairness in income and taxes,

for: enterprises with state investment or private investment in state enterprises,

for: private medium-sized enterprises created through separation from combines and enterprises, by new start-ups, and by expanding the employee limit of existing craftsman and tradesman enterprises.

The NDPD is

for: framework planning for national economic proportions, based on basic societal requirements,

for: the elimination of inhibitive planning mechanisms,

for: prioritized development of the infrastructure,

for: guaranteeing autonomous management in the combines and enterprises,

for: modern economic enterprises,

for: the development of owner awareness, in part through the issue of stocks and bonds, profit-sharing, wage autonomy, and genuine democratic co-determination, extending as far as the right to strike,

for: enhancement of the status of the engineer, of the master craftsman, and of the quality worker in order to reanimate German superior workmanship,

for: foreign capital without selling out our own economy,

for: protecting savings holdings and the currency,

for: the convertibility of the mark.

The NDPD is

for: a craftsman and tradesman law that uses equal price, wage, tax, and credit policy to promote the output of craftsmen and tradesmen,

for: private takeover of commercial establishments and restaurants,

for: full economic freedom with proof of competence.

The NDPD is

for: a law on cooperatives that makes all cooperatives equal in order to guarantee their full independence and self-management,

for: increasing the contribution of agriculture to healthy nutrition by tangible improvements in the material-technical basis of the agricultural, forestry, and foodstuffs sector,

for: greater attention to farmers bound to the soil and to nature,

for: an improvement in the standard of living in the towns,

for: the protection and conservation of our natural resources and the elimination of environmental pollutants,

for: new national legislation for environmental protection and ecology.

The NDPD is

for: the formation of specific associations, such as employers associations, branch organizations, leagues, and umbrella organizations.

4. For the Free and Democratic Development of Culture and Art, Science, Education, Sports, and Health in the Service of Humankind, Based on National Responsibility

The NDPD is

for: preserving and enriching our humanistic culture as part of our national identity, and its long-term material guarantee by the state and by social and private interests,

for: comprehensive care for monuments,

for: preserving and protecting the German and Sorbian linguistic and cultural heritage, including that of all spiritual and religious communities present in the GDR; one special focal point is guaranteeing the Sorbian culture area,

for: full freedom of humanistic artistic creation,

for: preserving and supporting traditional local culture, such as German choral music,

for: broad cultural exchange,

against: the sell-out of cultural values.

The NDPD is

for: freedom for science, teaching, and research and freedom of academic differences of opinion, as well as the consistent application of their results to the well-being of humanity,

for: emphatic societal esteem for scientists,

for: restoration of the pioneering traditions of German education and of the German school system,

for: societal respect for and free development of teaching personnel,

for: equal educational opportunity for all children of the nation, respect for responsibility, and respect for the child and young person individually,

for: adequate education in the schools with all opportunities to specialize, extending as far as elite training,

for: a pro-youth policy in professions, education, family, and leisure.

The NDPD is

for: firm measures to promote professional ethics and to improve the social position of employees in the health and social welfare sector,

for: improving the material-technical conditions in the interest of medical care for the population and of easing the work of medical personnel,

for: freeing doctors from bureaucracy,

for: private initiatives in the health and social welfare sector, sports, and leisure, for balanced support of competitive, group, and leisure sports.

The NDPD is

for: unconditional state and societal respect for all humanistic religious faiths and the right for them to be practiced by individuals, communities, and churches,

for: ideological tolerance within the framework of humanism,

for: a trusting relationship between state and church.

Dear Voters!

If you feel committed to our national and democratic will, give us your vote.

People's Party Forms, Outlines Program

LD0701115690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1122 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The "only Independent People's Party (UVP), the party of social justice, freedom and democracy," as it describes itself, formed at the end of December. In material given to ADN during the weekend, the party gives information about its guiding theories. Thus, according to them, the philosophers only interpreted the world in different ways but it is a question of preserving it—life, itself. The UVP is in favor of creating peace without weapons. Everything for the people, everything through the people, everything with the people, all power to the people, it says further. "Arisen from the red tyranny and devoted to the people, let us serve you to the good—Germany, a united Fatherland," as the UVP formulates it. In an extensive program, the party takes up points of view on, inter alia, the relationship between life and the environment, on the topic of the people and their rights, on foreign policy, on the economy, as well as on questions of the military and violence.

Attacks SED

LD0701220290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2124 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The "only independent people's party, UVP, the party of social justice, freedom and democracy," as it describes itself, was formed at the end of December. [passage omitted]

The UVP told ADN today that it has instituted proceedings against the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] on 3 January with the attorney general and the GDR Supreme Court. The charge was substantiated by the GDR criminal code. The UVP, as plaintiff, asks that all SED property become public property.

In the notice of the action, it is made clear that, in the critical political and economic situation, it is more necessary than ever to dispel all doubt and misgivings among the people that will counteract the relationship of trust. According to the UVP, this is the intention of its action.

CSU/FDU Party Founded in Leipzig

LD0701124790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1126 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—A Christian Social Union [CSU]/FDU [Free German Union] was founded yesterday in Leipzig-Wiederitzsch. The new party is an amalgamation of representatives of the parties, groups and circles of friends of the FDU, the DSU [expansion unknown], CSU founding groups in Leipzig, Sonneberg, and Arnstadt, the Junge Union [Young Union] in Thuringia, and the CSU friendship group in Dresden. The CSU party is in the area [bezirk] associations of Saxony/Thuringia, the FDU in the area associations of Mecklenburg/Outer Pomerania, Berlin (East), and Brandenburg.

As emerges from a press statenent from the CSU/FDU national executive, the party sees itself as a Christian-social people's party in the center and will take part in elections in all GDR parliaments.

The task and goal of its policies are to gain freedom, self-determination and unity for all the German people, to secure a just peace in Europe and the world that gives all people, regardless of their race, ethnic group and beliefs, full human rights, and the chance of freedom and economic development. The CSU/FDU is resolutely in favor of the introduction of a social market economy and free enterprise, with joint resonsibility for the environment. A joint youth association, the Junge Union, was founded.

CDU Executive Discusses Election Campaign

LD0501215890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1738 GMT 5 Jan 89

[Excerpts] Halle (ADN)—The CDU [Christian Democratic Union] intends to run its election campaign nationally and in accordance with a unified line under the slogan "Back to the Future." Party Chairman Lothar de Maiziere explained this this afternoon at the meeting of the Executive of Burgscheidungen Halle Area [Bezirk].

The first meeting of the executive, which was elected in mid-December, assessed the situation after the extraordinary party congress and agreed on how and with what policy statements they will enter the election campaign. The CDU understood itself as a party of the center and wanted to become a people's party with a Christian profile. It would woo voters by the quality of work and its efforts for the common good. [passage omitted]

The party executive elected Helmut (Lueck) as the party's press spokesman. He comes from the editorial board of the CDU newspaper NEUE ZEIT. Party Chairman Lothar de Maiziere made the proposal in accordance with the Constitution. The press spokesman to date, Karl Hennig, carried out this function temporarily and had given it up a few days ago.

The meeting will continue tomorrow.

Honecker Has Malignant Tumor; Unfit To Arrest

LD0501165890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1609 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The arrest of former Council of State Chairman Erich Honecker is not permitted after a fresh examination, the press office of the GDR attorney

general announced to ADN today. An independent commission of doctors from Buch Hospital, the Berlin-Freidrichshain Municipal Hospital, and the Charite given the task of checking his fitness for custody by the GDR attorney general came to this conclusion.

As emerges from a written assessment handed to the attorney general today, Honecker is suffering from a malignant kidney tumor, which there is an obligation to treat from a medical point of view. A decision must be made on an immediate operation after consulting other doctors. With regard to this medical report, which says Honecker is not fit to be taken into custody, the legal prerequisites for an application for an arrest warrant do not exist.

However, the investigation of Honecker will be continued. After surgery, his fitness for custody will be re-examined.

Wuensche Appointed New Justice Minister

LD0501151990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1214 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Council of Ministers Chairman Hans Modrow today appointed Prof Kurt Wuensche (Liberal Democratic Party) [LDPD] as justice minister.

The government press and information service told ADN that the prime minister at the same time relieved Dr Hans-Joachim Heusinger (LDPD) from his duties and thanked him for his lengthy period of office.

The People's Chamber was given proposals on the election of Kurt Wuensche as member of the Council of Ministers and on the dismissial of Hans-Joachim Heusinger. In this change to the post of the justice minister, the prime minister was complying with a proposal by the LPDP.

Words Restored to National Anthem

LD0501183890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1657 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—From now on, television and radio will again broadcast the GDR national anthem written in 1949 with the words by Johannes R. Becher. As the GDR's government press and information service announced, the instruction not to sing the words at official events given 2 decades ago has been lifted.

This is happening, government spokesman Wolfgang Meyer said, in the full knowledge that this decision will unleash controversial debate because of such words as "Germany, united fatherland," and because there is the danger that extreme right-wing and nationalist forces might see this as grist to their reunification mill. However, an anthem that has "lost" its words also means a loss of identification with one's own state, of the feeling of home and belonging, which—in the final analysis—make being a citizen and civic sense difficult. In addition to this, there is the fact that dealing with one's own history also includes acknowledging the time, the historical circumstances, and the thoughts that made Becher choose these words.

Written in 1949 and thought out during the years of emigration, it is a matter of our understanding the intellectual claim, valid today, which Becher formulated, and the tasks for our people linked to this, i.e. the maintenance of peace, friendship with other nations, an antifascist, democratic basis for the GDR's development, and the necessity of our state's own sovereign contribution. Of course the national aspect is recalled and it still exists today for the two sovereign German republics in fashioning their relations in the spirit of goodn-eighborliness, and in the interests of people in both states and the nations of Europe.

'Dismal' Situation of Germans in USSR Noted

AU0501122690

[Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German on 2 January on page 5, under the headline "No Topic For GDR Media Up To Now," carries 1,200-word "excerpts" from a letter to the paper from reader Margarete Miller of Cottbus on the situation of ethnic Germans in the Soviet Union. Miller describes the largely dismal situation of ethnic Germans in the Soviet Union, discrimination against them, and how they are being neglected by the GDR.

After discussing these matters and stating that so far this issue has not been a topic for the GDR media, she notes that in 1989 about 90,000 Germans left the USSR and that this poses problems for the FRG because it adds to the problems caused by other immigrants.

Then she asks: "Could the GDR not also contribute something to this? In particular now, when labor is needed? From many letters that I get from the USSR I know that many families would like to move to the GDR. And it is my dream that within the framework of the current restructuring a party will be formed that also works for my people. I also wish to see the population educated about our fate, about the reasons that bring us here to the GDR, so that those who will come to the GDR after me won't hear astonished questions such as "Why are you coming to us?," "How can one leave such a beautiful country as the Soviet Union?!" so frequently. How often did I have to hear this, in a particularly aggressive tone from members of the old Socialist Unity Party."

No Financial Aid to Socialist Countries in 1990

LD0501172590 Budapest MTI in English 1620 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 5 (MTI)—A debate was held by the Hungarian Government over the guidelines of the economic aid that may be provided to developing socialist countries. It was established that the country is not capable of maintaining the earlier level of assistance. As a consequence, economic deliberations will be paramount in future decisions. According to parliament's resolution, this year Hungary will not be providing aid.

Horn Arrives in Israel, Meets With Arens

LD0701170290 Budapest MTI in English 1550 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Text] Tel Aviv, January 7 (MTI)—Gyula Horn, minister of foreign affairs, arrived in Israel on Sunday on a three-day official visit. At Tel Aviv's Ben Gurion Airport, Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens stressed that Gyula Horn is the first Hungarian foreign minister to pay a visit to Israel from an East European country since 1967.

Mr Horn told reporters that as Hungary was a small country, it could not make a huge contribution to solving Middle East problems. Hungary's views of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict are similar to those of the European Community, as worded in the Venice statement of foreign ministers in 1980. Mr Horn said bilateral relations were going through a very dynamic development and expressed hope that his visit would give them further impetus.

Mr Arens said a new step in developing ties was that an Israeli- Hungarian cultural agreement was to be signed in the wake of an economic one made in December. He expressed hope that Hungary's example would be followed by other East European countries and they would also resume diplomatic relations with Israel. He thinks that the Soviet Union is for the time being reluctant to make this step for domestic political reasons.

Mr Horn is scheduled to pay a visit to Jad Vasem, Jerusalem, the memorial place for the Jews killed in the 2nd World War and to hold talks with Moshe Arens. On Monday, he will be meeting Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir and Shim'on Peres, deputy prime minister and minister of finance.

'Enmity' Alleged Between Hungarians, Romanians

LD0601203590 Budapest MTI in English 1914 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 6 (MTI)—On behalf the government, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs forwarded the following statement to MTI news agency:

According to Romanian sources, at some Transylvanian settlements, certain Hungarian citizens are directly interfering with the political life of the local communities, thereby instigating enmity between Hungarians and Romanians. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs dissociates itself on behalf the Hungarian Government from any action of this kind. At the same time, they call on all the Hungarian parties and movements, organizations and citizens not to interfere with Romania's internal affairs. Everyone should respect the new system and institutions, reconciliation and the effort to lay new foundations for Hungarian-Romanian relations, while calling for the full assertion of the individual and collective nationality rights of the Hungarian ethnic community in Romania.

The Hungarian Government wishes to confirm its intention also hereby to continue building good neighbourly relations with the new Romania.

Kovacs Calls for End to Incitement in Romania

LD0701202990 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1900 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Interview with Laszlo Kovacs, state secretary for foreign affairs, by unidentified reporter; date and place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Up to now we have grown accustomed to the arrival of very positive reports from Romania on relations between the newly forming Romanian leadership and the Magyars in Hungary. However, today you have published a statement and there are rather grave accusations in it, namely that visitors from Hungary are inciting hostility between the people who live there. I have two questions: From whom does this information originate, and what, in the final analysis, does it conceal?

[Kovacs] On Friday evening, Foreign Minister Gyula Horn received a message from the Romanian foreign minister saying that, according to information, which, I stress, is not verified at this time, in certain areas inhabited by Magyars—the message mentioned—specifically, in Odorheiu Secuiesc and Cristuru Sacuiesc, atrocities involved in settling scores have taken place over the few past days, which have entailed injuries, even deaths. The message suggests that Hungarian citizens who were staying there either took part in or at least were present during these actions. The message emphasizes: It is not presumed that these incidents might have happened under instructions from Budapest or were encouraged by Hungary, but the Romanian foreign minister emphatically asked the Hungarian Government to exert pressure with all means available to it so that such things do not take place, such things do not happen again.

[Reporter] What do you, as a diplomat, advise?

[Kovacs] I advise that it is necessary to act with very great responsibility, since these actions endanger the opportunity that now exists. Now there really is a historic opportunity for us, after 70 years of hatred, to place Hungarian-Romanian relations on a new foundation. It would be extremely unfortunate if certain people were to make use of actions of this type in Romania, again to

incite nationalist emotions, to incite anti-Magyar sentiment, and to destroy this budding good relationship.

Deputies on Visit to Romania, Minority Rights

LD0501215390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Hungarian parliamentary deputies Zoltan Kiraly, Laszlo Morvai, and Erno Raffay held talks in Bucharest for a day and a half, primarily on the rights of the nationalities. After their arrival home, they gave an account of their experiences. Eva Soos reports:

[Begin Soos recording] First of all, Zoltan Kiraly spoke about the intention which took the three independent deputies to Romania. This was to build up personal contacts with the representatives of the state authority which is in the process of being formed; to offer the experiences which they have gained in connection with the changes in Hungary; and to hand over the resolution of the National Assembly's Foreign Affairs Committee, which proposed Doina Cornea and Laszlo Tokes for the Nobel Peace Prize.

During the course of their talks, said Erno Raffay, they met with the greatest understanding, and with the feeling of a need to develop democracy. They did not discover even signs of chauvinist behavior or manifestations.

Naturally, at all their talks, the subject of settling the Hungarian minority's situation came up. The National Salvation Front Council has issued a communique in connection with this, which the deputies brought with them and which will be broadcast tonight in Romanian and Hungarian on Romanian television, too.

The communique states that the Romanian state wishes to create a guarantee for the recognition and practice of the minorities' individual and collective rights. This means the creation of a constitutional nationality law and a Ministry for Nationalities. They wish to appoint Laszlo Tokes to head the latter, but he has not yet replied as to whether he will accept the ministerial post offered.

Defense Ministry spokesman Gyorgy Keleti, who was also present at the press conference and who has also just arrived back from Romania, said that the Romanian chief of staff had expressed his gratitude to the Hungarian Republic, and particularly to the Hungarian military leadership, for the help given to Romania.

As is known, he said, it caused displeasure in Hungary that the aid consignments are being sold in Romania. In relation to this, Gyorgy Keleti said that this happened because it was not possible to distribute every single consignment fairly. Thus, the money raised through the sales is being collected in an account called Freedom, and they wish to help orphans and families who have lost relatives from this and also to contribute to the country's reconstruction. [end recording]

Assembly Authorizes Soviet Withdrawal Stance

LD0501163390 Budapest MTI in English 1501 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 5 (MTI)—The Hungarian parliament authorises the Council of Ministers—in conformity with the Vienna force reduction talks—to urge the early withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary at the ongoing discussions with the Soviet Government. The withdrawal should be completed by December 31, 1990, if possible. The government should keep the public informed on the progress of the related discussions, with the diplomatic norms being observed. This draft resolution was formulated at the Friday joint session of the parliament's foreign affairs and defence committees. It remains the task of parliament to pass this resolution.

Another draft resolution passed by the two bodies states that parliament should appoint the president of the Republic to the political consultative body of the Warsaw Treaty Organization as the representative of the Republic of Hungary, and the chairman of the Council of Ministers as his deputy. The representative thus accredited will be in a position to give a statement, sign a contract or amend agreements on behalf of the Republic of Hungary. However, in case an agreement is signed, it will only come into force after enacted by parliament.

Parliament, as the supreme organ of state power, has not yet accredited its representative to the body of the Warsaw Treaty (WT). In most cases, this right was exercised by the first secretary or general secretary of the former Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP). Members of the Hungarian delegation were appointed by the HSWP's political committee. This practice—making the right of appointment a monopoly of a single party—has now become unacceptable. The MPs [members of parliament] said. It was also set down at the session that it would be the duty of the representative to appoint members of the Hungarian delegation and the required team of experts to the sessions of the WT's political consultative body.

ANC's Nzo Criticizes Botha Visit to Budapest

LD0601201990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] The general secretary [Alfred Nzo] of the African National Congress [ANC], which is fighting against apartheid, has launched a sharp attack against Hungary because of the Budapest visit by the South African foreign minister.

According to Nzo, similar initiatives have to be crushed at birth because they can only serve the survival of the Pretoria regime. He added that by receiving Botha, the Hungarian party violated the stance taken by the UN General Assembly last month, according to which the isolation of South Africa has to be increased. At the same time, the politician called for protest demonstrations to be organized in front of Hungarian Embassies.

Groups on Interior Ministry's 'Criminal' Acts

LD0501125190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Zoltan Sipos reports on the morning news conference by FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats] and SzDSz [Alliance of Free Democrats]:

[Begin Sipos recording] A Hungarian Watergate affair is unfolding; I still have not recovered from what I heard and saw at the news conference of FIDESZ and SzDSz this morning. The two organizations published all their written and video evidence on the fact that section three of the Ministry of the Interior, i.e., the domestic counterintelligence group of the State Security Department, regularly gathers information in a criminal way. They tap telephones, they violate the secrecy of the mail, or they use the network, i.e., they use reports from planted agents on activities of political parties and opposition figures.

The film by the editorial department, Fekete Doboz [Black Box], has indeed graphically illustrated all the things the abovementioned section is still doing these days—for we were able to see the December 1989 files on the screen. After the filming, the journalists received part of the written evidence, which could be made public.

The uncovered material will not be published in full, precisely because of its confidential nature. The intention is only to highlight the facts, and to do that graphically.

The two organizations' representatives have initiated proceedings at the Budapest Chief Prosecutor's Office under the charge of abuse of official position; they propose the commencement of proceedings and of judicial confiscation of the relevant documents in the Interior Ministry's archives.

It is just at this minute that the aforementioned material is being sent to Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth, together with a six-point petition. The two organizations demand that the prime minister should, on the government's behalf, dissociate himself from the activities mentioned, that he should seek out those responsible, that he should take steps to ensure that these materials are sequestered, and that he should prevent the destruction, in tonnes, of the relevant documents in the Interior Ministry's archives.

They call on the responsible official of the Ministry of the Interior, Jozsef Horvath, head of department, and Deputy Minister Ferenc Pallagi, chief of the State Security Department, and also on Interior Minister Istvan Horvath, to resign. [end recording]

Nyers Suspects His Phone 'Is Also Tapped'

LD0801104290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0530 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Well, for a long time I have had the suspicion that my telephone is also tapped. This was said by none other than Rezso Nyers, who, in the future, will be chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] as a pensioner, for 2 forints monthly. It also emerges from NEPSZABADSAG, which carries a compilation on the session of the party's board, that the Presidium was surprised by Matyas Szuros' not having transferred to the MSZP.

Nyers To Retire; Continue as MSZP Chairman

LD0601233590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The National Board of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] has been formed. On this occasion, an international press briefing was held this afternoon by Rezso Nyers and Imre Pozsgay. Miklos Tarjan reports:

[Tarjan] Rezso Nyers is retiring, but only so that his pay should not burden the MSZP budget. Contrary to rumors, he is remaining party chairman. [passage omitted] Regarding the march elections, Imre Pozsgay, who is also leading the MSZP election campaign, said the following:

[Begin Pozsgay recording] It would not be good if, at the first free elections in 4 decades, Hungarian citizens were to accept the opportunity for decisionmaking passively, lethargically, because although they have enough cause for fear and reservations—a loud campaign that might not always be called objective might begin—the nation's interest nonetheless requires the democratic forces to speak, to achieve success, in order for the country to have a legislature that can make decisions, as well as a strong government authorized by this legislature, according to the terms of these successes. Taking this political interest and consideration as its point of departure, the MSZP puts itself forward in this election campaign because it believes and professes that without it, and without its achieving considerable election successes, the country will have no chance for democratic developments. A one-sided new power center should not be formed after the elections. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Gasoline, Diesel Prices To Increase

LD0601155690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Although the official statement has still not been issued, beginning Monday, gasoline will uniformly cost 3.5 forints more per liter, independently of the octane value, and diesel fuel will cost 4 forints more. For some reason, the competent officials tried to keep the gasoline price increases secret until the last moment. Gyoergy Nika spoke to (Istvan Sokorai), managing director of Mineral Oils Commercial Enterprise [AFOR], who said the following:

[Begin recording] [(Sokorai)] It is true. Starting from 0000 on Monday, the price of fuels will rise.

[Nika] NEPSZABADSAG writes that this is 3.5 forints per liter for gasoline and 4 forints for diesel.

[(Sokorai)] I can confirm this news.

[Nika] And the price of heating oil? Will that remain unchanged?

[(Sokorai)] For the moment, yes.

[Nika] Many people are saying that perhaps there will be a gasoline shortage. What information do you, as managing director of AFOR, have?

[(Sokorai)] The Soviet partner has delivery difficulties, and they would like to postpone their deliveries, with rescheduling in January, perhaps also in February. We do not have reserves which are large enough to manage this kind of delivery rescheduling without any difficulty. Thus we must look for other sources.

[Nika] Can it be expected that because of Western imports, the price of gasoline will rise further in Hungary?

[(Sokorai)] My opinion is that there is no connection between these two factors, that is the price increase and the source of the imports are not directly linked. [passage omitted]

[Nika] How much is the price of gasoline? And from Monday how much will the state tax on gasoline be?

[Sokorai]) I cannot give precise figures, but about two-thirds of the price of gasoline is the tax. [end recording]

Government Statement on Price Increases

LD0701182790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Text] We begin our detailed reports with the Council of Ministers' statement on the price increases and the social policy measures that partly compensate for them. You will hear quite a lot of figures. For this reason, it is advisable to read the statement in tomorrow's dailies. My announcer colleague is Adrienne Zahoran:

[Zahoran] According to the government communique, the price rises are justified by the increase in costs, the reduction in price supports, and the change in taxation conditions.

In the sphere of foodstuffs, beginning 8 January the prices of meat industry products will go up by 32 percent, on average. The increase in the price of pork will be higher than average, while that of poultry will be lower than average.

The price of milk and milk products will rise by 42-43 percent. The price of flour will rise by 22 percent, that of rice by 16 percent, and that of baking industry products by 26 percent.

The only products still to have a fixed price will be milk containing 2.8 percent fat, as well as white bread, croissants, and rolls. The price of milk will rise by 18.20 forints per liter. White bread will cost 14.80 forints per kg, while rolls and croissants will cost 1.70 forints each. The producers have not proposed changing the price of cooking oil, margarine, or sugar.

Among consumer goods, cigarettes, beer, and hard spirits will cost 20-22 percent more. Since the information is built on prices recommended by producers, different prices are conceivable at certain retail outlets.

The price of cars imported from CEMA countries will rise by 25 percent, on average. Among fuels, gasoline will be 3.50 forints higher, the price of lead-free gasoline will be 3.00 forints higher, and that of gas-oil 4.00 forints more per liter.

Drinking water and sewage charges will rise by 336 percent starting tomorrow. The increase in water charges applies equally to freehold dwellings and rented homes. Where consumption cannot be gauged, a flat rate has to be paid on the basis of the size of the rented dwelling and the extent of its modern facilities.

Rents will rise by 35 percent on average beginning 1 February. Within this, the rents of apartments without, or with only moderate modern facilities will remain unaltered, while the rents of apartments with full modern facilities will cost 15 forints per square meter instead of 12 forints. Since rents have to be paid in advance, the first payment at the higher rate will be due in February.

Likewise, local transportation fares and railway and road freight charges, as well as the cost of telecommunication services will also go up beginning in February. Postal charges will be 22 percent more as of tomorrow.

By way of offsetting the price rises, the government is raising pensions, taking into consideration the extent of provision and the time of beginning retirement. Family allowances, child-care benefits, and the lowest amount of child-care allowance will be increased, as well. In parallel with these measures, the councils also will receive larger amounts for their welfare support funds.

The Council of Ministers' communique on the measures can be read in detail in tomorrow's papers.

Pozsgay, Nyers Interviewed on MSZP

LD0601202390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Interview with Imre Pozsgay, member of the Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP) Presidium, and MSZP chairman Rezso Nyers by reporter Akos Mester at MSZP headquarters in Budapest on the "168 Hours" program—live]

[Text] [Mester] I hope, dear listeners, that there will be no break in transmission as long as I am talking with Imre Pozsgay, who is still merely a member of the MSZP Presidium, and not its new chairman. I am saying this with such emphasis because, properly speaking, I came here upon hearing the news, the information, that an important personnel change would be announced here today, that Rezso

Nyers was resigning and that you would be the new party chairman. Was there such a choice?

[Pozsgay] There was no such choice. The Presidium did not deal with this in that way. At the same time, just as this is natural in other parties, too, criticism of various kinds concerning the leadership was voiced when the party was being organized. And, in the wake of the criticism, remarks and proposals were also voiced. So what was said cannot be described as entirely without foundation, but no such change figured in the Presidium's plans and it did not figure in the board's tasks for today.

The issue, rather, was that the first session of the board should assess the Presidium's work to date and should strengthen the organizations so that they would be ready to prepare for the elections scheduled for 25 March. This was the real subject today for the board.

[Mester] I have tell you that when I heard of this [word indistinct] rumor, I was not overly surprised because I had heard earlier that there were certain strains in the party Presidium. These were partly related to the fact that the activities of the various opposition parties were not judged equally, and partly related to the fact that the reactions to Premier Miklos Nemeth's resignation from MSZP Presidium members were not identical.

[Pozsgay] Yes. The Presidium has taken a stand on this in a very correct manner and on politically clear grounds, too. It acknowledged Miklos Nemeth's resignation from the Presidium. Yet it reaffirmed the decision declared at the congress, that the Presidium cannot prevent its members from engaging in the politics of their choice, as individuals, so long as they otherwise accept the party's political program as their basic principle. From this viewpoint, being a member of the government, or not belonging to the government, has no significance regarding conduct within the Presidium.

Another thing: I heard in your earlier question that there were differences of view regarding the assessment of the various parties and in clarifying the relationship to them. I believe that they were, rather, differences which have arisen regarding information and judgment. This, too, was discussed today, at this same session of the board. We are not averse to any possible future alliance if it is based on respect for the constitutional state and human rights, and on the political setup which accords with this, if it is based on views which reject every form of dictatorship, those of the right wing and possibly the left wing, too. The debate on this is continuing.

[Mester] If I understand correctly, Presidium members do not have access to the same information, and not in the same manner; this reminds me that perhaps you are slightly put out by the fact that the Alliance of Free Democrats and the Federation of Young Democrats have now revealed to the public that the State Security Service has gained access, possibly illegally to certain information, and it has collected data on the opposition parties, and particularly on their leaders.

[Pozsgay] This information and so-called disclosure would not have upset us whatsoever if it had not contained another declaration, and if it had not tried to arouse a feeling among the people that the MSZP might have something to do with it—that it indeed might have some interest in committing such offences. We reject this. This has no grounds whatsoever. Anyone who has properly studied Hungarian political life and the MSZP's leadership knows exactly that the members and the leaders of this party are those who undertook similar risks at an earlier time of illegal practices, when they, too, were the victims of this kind of thing. For this reason, from the outset, the MSZP has endeavored to ensure that this kind of thing does not happen in a future constitutional state; that is, the organizations safeguarding state security should function according to the law and the Constitution.

If in practice events at variance with this have occurred, the MSZP's interest does not differ from that of all other political parties; this should be investigated. If the accusation is true, those who are responsible should be condemned. The creation of legal conditions which would create guarantees against this should be urged. That is our political stand.

[Mester] I understand you, and the suspicion possibly is without grounds, but at any event it is not lacking in a certain logic, since it can be supposed that the State Security Service takes measures on behalf of the authorities. However, so far this party has been in power in this country.

[Pozsgay] I do not know about that; nor do I sense, in the treatment by the mass media and publicity, that this party might be in power. On the countrary, what has happened is that after the new party was founded we remained in the government. I also act as a member of government. However, the MSZP does not assert itself in this government as the sole influence, as the sole power; the situation is the same in the legislature. Second, I note that, reflecting on government activity, in principle it was the same political intention which functioned as that which was expressed earlier, in connection with the party. [as heard]

[Mester] Thank you. I notice that Rezso Nyers has arrived, please come in. We are in the midst of a live transmission but there is no obstacle to your joining in the conversation. In practice, from this we can conclude that the session of the MSZP board has ended just now. Please, in order to make it easier for you to join in, I shall tell you that we are approximately at the point that the MSZP is trying to separate itself more and more clearly from its own past.

[Nyers] Not from its own past, but from the past of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP].

[Mester] Yes. But the issue is somewhat complicated by the fact that the past of the MSZMP and the past of the MSZP are, after all, a common past, no matter how we look at it, isn't that so?

[Nyers] No, no, no, no. By no means has it been common. One came first, the other came later. A new party was formed. This is how it was clarified at this board session. Therefore, we view the MSZMP as an historical predecessor, and we, who personally took part in the MSZMP in the manner we did, accept this. That is a different matter. The party, itself, is a new party.

By the way, our congress declared this as follows: a new, left-wing Socialist Party. This is in our statement.

[Mester] As regards the separating away, I imagine that a part of this is the fact that this week five people were named who supposedly were most responsible for the political mistakes which were committed. Yet, obviously there are not only five of them. I imagine you agree with this.

[Nyers] Naturally.

[Mester] Well, then?

[Nyers] Well, we do not want fill up newspaper pages. We designated the main, decisive individuals. I believe that here the party operated in a system, and within the party were various leading people. By no means is there justification for us to cast political responsibility en masse on various people in various offices, involved in implementation. We pinpointed the main people who hampered the reform policy.

[Mester] The current board session had two agenda points. One was preparations for the elections. I shall not enquire about this because I imagine that I would find myself facing a set of things which you would call the party's internal affair. The other was the party's general activity since the congress and in the coming period. Is the party preparing for a coalition, or are you not yet at that point?

[Nyers] We are not yet at that point. The party's opinion is that it is not desirable for the country that a power monopoly come about, that is for one of the power monopolies—previously the MSZMP—to be replaced by another power monopoly. This, in the most important national issues, does not guarantee decisionmaking with thought-out concepts, which would take shape through free debate. Therefore, what we consider desirable is a system which is based on a rational division of power between the progressive forces.

[Mester] Thank you. I now ask a final question and for brief answers. It now occurs to me that in today's program we have a compilation, which will begin in a few minutes' time. Its subject is who expects what from the year 1990. I ask you, if possible, not to give party replies, but subjective, personal replies. Mr Nyers?

[Nyers] I would like it if, in the New Year's eve program of 1990, the work of the Hungarian political parties' leadership and government leadership were not so easy to joke about.

[Mester] Mr Pozsgay?

[Pozsgay] Just that the conditions for a peaceful, safe life remain in Hungary, that we never be the first place, in the East European scramble, where the bullets fall thick and fast. It should be a quiet and happy year here without any showering of bullets and bloodshed, even if we have to contend with problems.

17th PZPR CC Plenary Meeting Proceedings

Rakowski Opens 'Last' Plenum

LD0601141890 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] The Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee has gathered in Warsaw, presumably for its last plenary meeting. The main topic of the meeting is the preparations for the coming 11th congress, which is to become the first congress of a new party of the Polish left.

Leszek Miller presented the results of the work by the Central Congress Commission and the draft documents on which the congress will be working.

Opening the proceedings of the 17th Central Committee plenum, Mieczyslaw Rakowski declared that the congress would perhaps close the activity of the PZPR, but everything should be done to prevent it being a forum for quarrels or dissention. The PZPR Central Committee first secretary stressed that the congress should in future act so that one party of working people, a party capable of organizing the Polish left, is the result of its deliberations.

Necessity for 'New Party' Agreed Upon

LD0601152690 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] The discussion at what is expected to be the last plenary meeting of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee is lively and comprehensive. There is absolute unanimity that the forthcoming 11th congress should end the activity of the PZPR and become the congress of a new party of the Polish left. It is not ruled out that more than one party will emerge from the congress, but the prevalent view is that organizational unity and the existence in the new party of many orientations are necessary.

Rakowski Favors One Party

LD0601184390 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] The 17th and final plenum of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee is in session. Participants in the debate are speaking in favor of democratic procedures at the congress and the founding congress of the new party of the Polish left, and are defining its program in a way which would allow the new party to gain credibility in society. Mieczyslaw Rakowski is at the microphone:

[Begin recording] [Rakowski] First of all, it is impossible to come up with new revolutionary discoveries or something totally fascinating in Poland—we already know more or less where the country is going. That was the first comment.

Second, those who believe that establishing a new party will open up a totally new period are wrong. The process of creating such a party will continue. As a matter of fact, it has to be built totally from the very foundations up, as I see clearly, and this does not just apply to structures; there also have to be many completely new people. It will be the process of bringing certain concepts to fruition. It will not be a post-PZPR party.

To be precise: the PZPR was a party which was considered as a communist party, and the new party will be a socialist party. These are fundamental differences.

[Unidentified reporter] Do you believe that only one party of the Polish left will emerge from the congress?

[Rakowski] There are possibilities of that, but I do not exclude the unexpected. My feeling is that, as of today, most PZPR members who will want to join the new party are of the opinion that we ought to emerge from the founding congress as one party. I agree with that view, because I am of the opinion that on the political stage in Poland, which is extremely crowded right now, it is necessary for us to exist as a cohesive formation, but as regards the organization of life within this new party—let us say the recognition of various orientations and platforms—this is a secondary issue.

I am of the opinion that I am starting with very rational and realistic assumptions. If the party were to divide at the founding congress into several parties, then I would like to ask: who will remain on the stage as a political force? And such a political force is needed for the balance between left and right. [end recording]

Founding of New 'Left' Party Proposed

LD0601193490 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] The 17th Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee Plenum has acquainted itself with report-back and program documents to the 11th PZPR Congress. The Central Congress Commission ended its activities. Further preparatory work on the 11th congress and the founding congress will be conducted by delegates in consultation with members and candidates, and with PZPR committees.

It is proposed that the 11th PZPR Congress should end its proceedings after the first day. The founding congress of the new party of the Polish left will deliberate for the next 2 days.

PAP Roundup of Plenum's Work

LD0601222290 Warsaw PAP in English 1951 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 6—The PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] CC gathered at the 17th and probably the last but one plenary meeting here today. PUWP CC First Secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski said that the meeting aimed to adopt report and programmatic documents for

the 11th PUWP Congress, to be held on January 27, that would certainly end the PUWP work. The PUWP CC first secretary said that one should do its best so that the congress should not become the arena of quarrels or squabbles so that one party of working people capable to organize Polish left-wing could emerge from the congress despite programmatic differences.

Preparations for the 11th PUWP Congress

Political Bureau Member and PUWP CC Secretary Leszek Miller presented reports on preparations for the congress. He said that the Central Congress Commission had already ended its work that resulted in the emergence of basic outlines of the future party. Characterizing the course of the electoral campaign, Leszek Miller said that it did not confirm many fears about passivity of most party members. Numerous party milieux became active and programmatic platforms were worked out during the campaign.

Only 10 per cent of PUWP members are estimated not to have taken interest in preparations for the congress. Almost 60 per cent of PUWP members took part in the campaign. 1,474 delegates, out of whom two-thirds are under 45 years of age, were elected. Besides, delegates are 163 members of the PUWP Sejm deputy floor group. One thousand delegates are representatives of various programmatic platforms.

Plenary Discussion

Participants in the plenary discussion spoke in favour of the democratic course of the congress and the founding congress of the new left-wing party which has to be created form the grass roots.

They said that at the 10th plenum PUWP had given evidence of its responsibility for the fates of the country and the party when it had decided to expand freedom and accelerate the process of changes. The most important task ahead of the new party of the Polish left-wing is to win credibility in the eyes of society.

Resolution of the 17th Plenum

Participants of the meeting unequivocally adopted the resolution of the 17th plenum of PUWP CC which reads in part:

The Central Committee states that the preparatory work for the 11th congress is carried out in line with the adopted contents and time-table.

The Central Committee adopted a resolution on holding, before the 11th congress, a poll on the name of the new party of the Polish left-wing. At the same time it recognized the work of the central congress commission as concluded. Further work will be carried out by delegates to the congress in consultation with members and candidate members and PUWP committees. The work should be organized by the coordinating team of delegates.

Miller told the plenum about an intention to close the 11th PUWP congress on the first day of the debates. The founding congress of the new party, capable to represent the interests of the working people under the conditions of parliamentary democracy, will debate for the next two days.

Draft of Programmatic Declaration

Chairman of the Programmatic Team of the Central Congress Commission Tadeusz Fiszbach presented a draft of the programmatic declaration. Its 20 points refer to roots and functioning of the party in the past and defines new values that the new party wants to serve. The draft emphatically says that Poland is this supreme value and the will of the nation expressed in free and democratic elections is the source of power. The declaration rejects violence as a source and method of wielding power, dictatorship of the proletariat, primitively understood collectivism coupled with disrespect for personal freedoms, the doctrine and practice of limiting sovereignty in the name of the falsely understood internationalism. The declaration deems the subordination of the economy to ideological dogmas erroneous.

The document stresses that Poland's future should be linked not to capitalism but to democratic socialism. The draft comes out for the setting up of a new and effective economic order, opened to the world and based on the principles of market economy and comes out for reconciling high economic effectiveness with social justice and subjectivization of society. The document declares the will of the new party to cooperate with the All-Poland alliance of Trade Unions and with the leftist current of Solidarnosc. As for the international arena, the document declares the will to expand ties with the Socialist International.

Assumptions of the Party's Provisional Status

They were discussed by Chairman of the Organizational and Statutory Team of the Central Congress Commission Aleksander Kwasniewski. The statute envisages that one can join the party after filing a declaration in any of its cells. Rights of party members include the freedom to voice their views, to criticize other members, organizations and party authorities.

The document proposes a two-level structure of the party based on administrative division of the state. Local organizations set up in the place of residence will be the main form of association. Besides, milieux organizations affiliating party members according to their professions and factory organizations were envisaged.

The congress, convened every fourth year, is the party's supreme authority. The congress elects chairman of the Supreme Council, general secretary and the Supreme Council. The latter elects the Central Executive Committee whose work is run by general secretary. The provisional status envisages the annual convening of party conventions.

Rakowski's Speech

Taking the floor at the end of the debates, M.F. Rakowski said that the new party would have to be built in great toil. It will not be a post-PUWP party. It will have a new structure and a new programme. There is no danger that it will be dominated by the former party apparatus as it is being profoundly reduced. The PUWP CC first secretary regarded it as a success that the party had not disintegrated of late. The point was to get to the congress as one coherent party. Only then it will rank for its opponents, Rakowski said.

While referring to the future of the new party, Rakowski said that it would aim at rallying all the people of the left-wing. It is possible providing that the new party preserves ideological identity. The most important thing is to reach to the sources of the Polish socialism and restore to the idea all those elements which had been ignored or forgotten. To reach to the national factors.

Rakowski warned against drawing a conclusion that the creation of the new party implies the end of a certain difficult stage. On the contrary, the congress will produce a vacuum situation as in many fields, the party will have to start its activities from scratch.

Orzechowski Addresses Caucus on Party Future

LD0601022190 Warsaw PAP in English
0035 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 5—"Excluding the possibility of a split, there are two options as to the future of the party. These are: a "neo-PUWP" [Polish United Workers Party] (though with a changed name) or a leftist party with a socialist program, capable of entering the new reality and regaining social trust," Marian Orzechowski, the chairman of the PUWP parliamentary floor group, stated during a meeting of the caucus today.

The meeting focused on the upcoming 11th PUWP Congress and the first founding congress of a new party.

Reviewing the draft programmatic declaration of the congress, Tadeusz Fiszbach stated that the mission of a party of the Polish left was service for Poland and that it would set national goals as a priority. "In the current system of the state, the party should be a force backing the process of overcoming the crisis. The future party of the left pins Poland's future not on capitalism but socialist democracy and stresses a striving for a strong bond with Europe," Fiszbach said.

Characterizing the draft statute, Aleksander Kwasniewski noted that party members will be able to set up various groups, factions and platforms.

Referring to post-congress prospects, the position of the caucus and the affiliation of its members, Jozef Oleksy proposed that the caucus name itself the caucus of the union of left-wing forces in the Sejm.

Leszek Miller, representing the party leadership, announced at today's meeting that according to data coming from the end of last year, 1,636 delegates have been elected to the 11th congress, with every mandate contested by 3 candidates.

Jerzy Urban's recent article in TRYBUNA LUDU about the PUWP caucus and its chairman (see daily news, January 3, page 6) drew sharp criticism from the party deputies, who in this context stated that political struggle was being waged within the country as well as within the party.

Referring to the vote casting of PUWP deputies on amendments to the Constitution at the end of December, Orzechowski stated that a part of the party "establishment" treated it as a pretext to accuse the caucus of "selling out socialism."

Rakowski, Miodowicz Discuss Problems

LD0301214490 Warsaw PAP in English
2050 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 3—PUWP CC [Central Committee] First Secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski met Chairman of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions Alfred Miodowicz today.

The two interlocutors exchanged opinions on current problems most important for the working people in Poland. Miodowicz stressed that under the new systemic conditions the reaching of the trade unions' supreme goal, that is, the defence of the interests of working people, pensioners and their families, became a question of special responsibility.

Students Occupy Bialystok PZPR Building

LD0801120190 Warsaw PAP in English
1131 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Bialystok, Jan 8 (PAP)—A group of students, members of the independent students union NZS started the occupation of the headquarters of the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] Voivodship committee in Bialystok this morning.

The action is led under the slogan "PUWP buildings for the university." The students are not allowing party employees to enter the building. Employees of a local branch of the bank which has its seat at that building were also not allowed to enter the building.

Krakow KPN Criticizes Attack on Party Building

LD1612204689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0200 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] Demonstrators attacked the Polish United Workers Party committee building in Krakow on 13 December. The current leadership of the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN] has issued a statement in which it calls these acts of (destruction?) of public

property mindless vandalism, which has nothing to do with the public interest. The KPN has demanded that this building be turned over to the health service or used for education. We expect that in future, the participants of independent demonstrations will show the appropriate level of political culture, and the forces of law and order will not provoke disturbances and acts of vandalism, write the authors of the statement.

Orzechowski Interviewed on Sejm Work, New Party

AU0801112690 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Dec 89 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Marian Orzechowski, Polish United Workers Party (PZPR) Politburo member and chairman of the PZPR Deputies Club, by Marek Jaworski; date and place not given: "We Are Part of the New Party"]

[Excerpts] [Jaworski] Comrade, there are so many subjects to talk about that I do not know where to begin. Perhaps we could start with what is today's most topical issue, that is, the Sejm economic debate, which has just ended....

[Orzechowski] Please forgive me, but I would like to begin by wishing TRYBUNA LUDU's readers a happy, prosperous new year on behalf of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Deputies' Club. I wish everyone who belongs to our party or sympathizes with its programmatic goals courage and optimism. I firmly believe that there will be great opportunities once the first congress of the new party, a socialist party of working people, begins the difficult process of winning public confidence, our long march toward the revival of the idea and causal force of the democratic socialism. Dear friends, we should do everything possible for this to happen, guided by the slogan that was put forward by Tadeusz Fiszbach: "integrity, democracy, socialism." [passage omitted]

[Jaworski] Judging by the letters that we receive, opinions on the work of party deputies thus far differ very widely. On the other hand, the findings of the Center for Public Opinion Research indicate that public confidence in the deputies club is twice as high as it is in the PZPR as a whole.

[Orzechowski] We also sense that. The knowledge that we are being observed so carefully is an additional spur for us to act. The proposal to abolish the 22 July holiday that was put forward by several deputies aroused a lot of strong feelings in the party. As we know, those behind the proposal decided to leave the party and thus left the club. As a club, we believe that this issue, like the plans to change the name and emblem of the state, should be examined by the Constitutional Commission during the course of its work on a new Constitution; work that is scheduled to take several months.

[Jaworski] Some people say that the club has become too independent and that it is coming out with statements on various issues without having coordinated them with the party leadership.

[Orzechowski] It should be borne in mind that this club is entirely different from the ones that existed during previous Sejms. This is because the sociopolitical reality is a new one: This applies to the arrangement of forces, the significance and course of parliamentary activity, relations between the government and other political groupings, and so on. The intensive style of Sejm work means that we have to make many decisions ourselves, guided by the general line of party policy. This sometimes results in friction: I can recall the reaction to the club's position on the anniversary of the Warsaw Pact intervention in Czechoslovakia. It took several months for it to become obvious that we were right. Several days ago, following the tragic event in Romania, in Timisoara, we independently adopted a position during a meeting of the Committee of Senior Parliamentarians [Konwent Seniorow] and then later during the Sejm vote. On this occasion it only took a few hours for the Politburo to express support for the club's position. There are also people who criticize your leadership of the deputies club. They say that you impose your opinions on others. On the other hand, there are people who charge that you lack resolve and that there is too much democracy in the running of the club.

[Orzechowski] Everything that deputies do and all club activity is directed toward positive parliamentary work in the interest of society. At the same time, we feel that we have a duty to participate actively in the changes that are taking place in the party and in the debate preceding the congress. The last expression of this was our appeal to party voters.

Over the past few months we have worked out a way of operating, holding meetings, and reaching common decisions that differs from that of other clubs. It is something that one can like or dislike, but it is simply proving itself in practice.

The directing of club work has a very democratic character. Our presidium contains 26 deputies and it is formed according to substantive criteria and not according to some and not with some political key in mind as was the case until now. So, every important decision made by the presidium or at a club meeting is based on the principles of consensus or a majority vote. So it is not in keeping with the truth to maintain, as some wrongly do, that the club has been dominated by Orzechowski and Fiszbach and that they above all inspire club activity.

There was a time when the stereotyped view was that our club was the most divided one. Even if there were symptoms of division, that is already a thing of the past. In our present 168-member form, we feel ourselves to be strongly integrated in a substantive sense, as well as

integrated as a team of colleagues, which is also important. We are a diverse group internally, because every person is an individual, but we nevertheless do constitute a community.

So, the basis of the significance and novel character of club activity, the content, style, course, and the methods of our party work, one can say that we are part of a new party, the kind of party that we would like to see arising out of the collective will of delegates to the 11th congress. We discussed this at length in our October Political-Programmatic Declaration. [passage omitted]

[Jaworski] In a recent interview for SZTANDAR MLOYDCH, Prof Lipiec stressed very forcefully how difficult it would be to find new leaders. On the other hand, the supporters of the "8 July" movement doubt whether the new party will need a charismatic leader at all.

[Orzechowski] I have deliberately used the word "leader" [English word used] rather than "leader." The new party should be one with completely different traditions. I do not think that we need leaders in the current sense of the word: leaders who form a ruling group by themselves, whose opinions are always decisive, whose speeches have status of a set of guidelines that have be followed by everyone else, who, in their behind the scenes contests, set the tone for the activities of the entire party along with a compliant section of the apparatus. We have to put an end to all of this. The leadership of the new party—at both the national and voivodship levels—should be a cohesive collective of essentially equal leaders who are chosen democratically, that is, there should always be at least two candidates who are judged on the basis of competence and predisposition. Only one of them, chosen by all those entitled to vote, will be the first among equals, according to the old Roman principles of "primus inter pares." He should be a man whose authority is widely recognized and a socialist through and through. He should be person who does not fight for power or declares himself to be the party's only savior. He should be honest, wise, and modest; a man of dialogue and accord, who can be resolute when circumstances dictate that this is what is required. This is the kind of leader that the new party needs over the months and years that lie ahead of us, ones that will be difficult but full of hope.

[Jaworski] Thank you.

Reportage on Constitutional Changes, Sejm Debates

Sejm Approves Changes

LD2912233489

[Editorial Report] Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish at 2127 GMT on 29 December begins a live relay from the Sejm session in Warsaw on the vote on the constitutional changes. At 2135 GMT deputies begin to vote. Of the 386 present, 374 vote for, 1 against, and 11 abstain. The draft law is thus adopted. There is prolonged applause, and the deputies sing the Polish national anthem.

Following a speech by Speaker Kozakiewicz, the Sejm presidium is authorized to send a telegram of congratulations to president of Czechoslovakia Vaclav Havel. The proceedings end at 2156 GMT.

A correspondent notes that the new constitution does not mention the leading role of the Polish United Workers Party; the name of the state has been changed to Polish Republic (Rzeczpospolita Polska); and the state emblem has been changed to a crowned white eagle on a red background.

PZPR Deputies Support Amendments

AU0801073890 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Jan 90 p 5

[Speech by Marian Orzechowski, Polish United Workers Party (PZPR) Politburo member and chairman of the PZPR Deputies Club, at Sejm session in Warsaw on 29 December]

[Text] Mr Marshal, Mr President, Mr Premier, Esteemed House! I think the emotions that accompanied the debate on amending the Constitution of the Polish Republic are slowly subsiding. The fate of the draft amendments proposed by the Sejm Legislative Commission has been determined. All I have is a certain feeling of displeasure and regret caused, for example, by the fact that those deputies who are doctors voted against the clause saying that health care is the duty of the state, professors and teachers voted against the clause saying that the development of science and education is the duty of the state, and that farmers voted against the clause calling for the protection of soil and land, the nation's assets. I hope they will be able to explain that to their voters. I would find it difficult to do so. I also hope the amendments which the House has set aside today will find proper expression in the new, full Constitution which we will shortly begin working on.

Ahead of us is an important act—a vote on the bill to make changes to the Constitution. Therefore I would like to issue a statement on behalf of the Deputies Club of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR].

The changes that we are due to incorporate, though exceedingly important, are but the first stage of work on a new Constitution of the Polish Republic—a democratic, law-governed, independent, and self-governing country, in which the people are the highest authority. The next stage of this work will be performed by the Constitutional Commission. We believe this Commission should hold its inaugural meeting already in January. The Commission should work just like the Sejm—before an open curtain, openly, and frankly, and publicizing its work and decisions as broadly as possible.

At the same time, the PZPR Deputies Club reiterates that it considers it essential for the House to urgently examine the bills on political parties. As the authors of

one of these three bills, we are ready for any constructive compromise and agreements in this respect.

Just like deputies from other clubs, we deputies from the PZPR Deputies Club realize that today's amendment to our state's Constitution is a very profound change to many important features of our state's political and economic system. We also realize that this change is still incomplete, and that the House is faced with the task of formulating in a comprehensive way new political foundations for the Republic in all their complexity, in accordance with the real aspirations of the people.

Therefore we support the fact that the process of creating a new Constitution should possess a fully democratic character. We said so in the political-programmatic documents which we adopted 2 months ago. The new Constitution should be created via a universal social debate, and such legal instruments as a general referendum, which determines very important matters connected with our state's political and economic system, should be used at the proper time.

As a deputies club, we wish to emphasize most strongly that we will do what we can to create a political shape of the Polish Republic on the basis of the very real chance of establishing the fortunes of our national community according to our own dimensions and own social development. I think this chance is greater today than it ever was, without us having to observe or emulate what is happening in the East or in the West. We have the chance to embark on our own path of social development, the kind of path that will combine our national historic experiences with the material and spiritual achievements of European civilization and with the values of a modern, democratic socialism, whose representatives and spokesman all 168 of us deputies of the PZPR Deputies Club are.

Mr Marshal, Mr President, Mr Premier, Esteemed House! With this conviction, the PZPR Deputies Club will vote for the amendments to the Constitution of the Polish Republic, in the version proposed by the Legislative Commission.

Report on Sejm Debate

AU0801073990 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Jan 90 p 5

[Jadwiga Mikolajczyk report: "The Sejm Has Adopted Changes to the Constitution"]

[Excerpts] Late on Friday, just before the final vote on the changes to the Constitution, the chairman of the Deputies Club of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] delivered a speech from the Sejm rostrum, saying that this is an important stage in work on a new Constitution, but nevertheless only the first stage.

Shortly afterwards, in the 13th hour of deliberations on 29 December, the Sejm adopted the changes to the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic with 374 votes in favor, 1 against, and 11 abstentions.

These are the main changes. Henceforth, the name of the state is Polish Republic [Rzeczpospolita Polska]. The expressions "socialist state" and "working people" disappear. Article 1 of the Constitution now reads: "The Polish Republic is a democratic legal state which implemenmts the principles of social justice." Article 2 begins by stating that in the Polish republic, supreme power rests with the people [narod].

Article 3 dealing with the PZPR as a political force has disappeared. In its place is a clause discussing the freedom to create political parties. Chapter 1, about the political system, has been changed. Chapter 2, about the socioeconomic system, has been deleted. New articles 6 and 7 lay down the freedom of econmomic activity and the protection of property. The state emblem is a white eagle with crown, against a red background. [passage omitted]

In the debate preceding the vote, Deputy Ireneusz Sekul;a [PZPR] rejected claims that the Constitution is a kind of New Year's present to society. The Constituion, he said, is the foundation of our law, and the opinion of the electorate should have been obtained on such an important matter. I envy those colleagues of mine who fully understand the text of the amendments that was distributed this morning, and consider it to be the only correct version.

Likewise, Deputy Lech Paprzxycki (Polish Peasdant Party "Rebirth") said that the haste in carrying these amendments through is a cause for concern. For example, replacing chapters 1 and 2 with seven articles was a risky venture, especially because they are drafted during a meeting of the Legislative Commission in the space of only a few hours.

Many deoputies pointed out that removing these two chapters, which defines the poltical and economic system, craates a loophole.

For the first time in the history of the Polish parliamentary system, we intend to delete a chapter dealing with the role of the armed forces, said deputy Tadeusz Jemiolo (PZPR). Deputy Andrzaej Bratkowski (PZPR) said that the clause saying that the Polish republic supports all forms of self-management is rather enigmatic. He said that the republic should base itself on the politicval principle of broad social self-management. Deputy Adam Zielinski took issue with the deletion of the clause that protects the personal property. [passage omitted]

During the debate on the subject of the national emblem, Deputy Jan Rokita (Citizens Parliamentary Club) said he preferred changes that are substantial to ones that are purely symbolic. The Citizens Parliamentary Club is not very enthusiastic about symbolic changes, he said. The crown to be put on top of the eagle should allow for future growth. It symbolizes the nation's sovereignty, and it should be placed on the eagle when the question of the deployment of foreign forces on Polish soil has been

resolved, when the apparatus of force is no longer in the hands of a single party, and when election rules become completely democratic.

However, if we are to put the crown on top of the eagle today, then not everyone is entitled to do so, Deputy Rokita continued. The only forces entitled to do so are those who have struggled for the nation's sovereignty, in other words the Home Army, the Freedom and Independence Movement [WIN], the Workers Defense Committee [KOR], and "Solidarity," as well as the emigre community, the Paris KULTURA magazine, and the London government in exile, but not those political forces that have had no legitimacy over the past 40 years and yet today are making the loudest calls for the return of the crown.

Mr Rokita, said Deputy Ireneusz Skubis (Polish Socialist Party "Rebirth"), many a speech by you has been full of demagogy. You said that if we put the crown back on the people's head, then it is "Solidarity" that will do so. But I say that it is we deputies of the Polish parliament who will put back this crown, on behalf of the entire Polish people.

Deputy Anna Dynowska from the Democratic Party suggested that Deputy Rokita also include among the forces he had just listed her grandmother and every other grandmother in Poland, for it is they who cultivated an attachment to the Republic's traditional emblem,.

Deputy Jan Sroczynski (PZPR] protested against allegations that insult those who fought for their country and to whom Poland and its emblems are dear. They include left-wing Sejm deputies, he said.

Deputy Rokita also received a gentle reprimand from his own benches.

About 60 deputies spoke during the debate, which was attended by President Wojciech Jaruzelski. After adopting the changes to the Constitution, the deputies sang the national anthem.

Before the session ended, Marshal Mikolaj Kozakiewicz delivered his first new year speech.

Government Spokeswoman Briefing 5 Jan

LD0501233290 Warsaw PAP in English
1712 GMT 5 Jan 90

[By Wieslawa Mazarska and Jan Rozdzynski]

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 5—"The socialist camp is ceasing to exist, falls into pieces and that is why the Polish Government in its foreign policy will act without preferences, (which previously stemmed from a special treating of certain states of the Third World defined as political allies of this camp)," stated government spokeswoman Malgorzata Niezabitowska in reply to one of the questions asked during today's press conference here.

Social reactions to the programme of radical restructuring of economy, the future of the Gdansk shipyard, changes in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, prospects of the CMEA, draft plan of rapprochement with Czechoslovakia and government's stand on the situation in Panama were among the topics of the first in the New Year press conference which was attended by vice-minister of finance Marek Dabrowski.

The Hour of Truth

Recalling the recent statement by Vice-Premier Leszek Balcerowicz, Niezabitowska said that the economic system would be based on truth. "Yet, it will be an 'hour of truth' for all of us not only in the sphere of economy. We once said that we would live on bread and water but in freedom. We realise that this young freedom is not perfect. But we cannot shift the responsibility for such a situation on somebody else," the spokeswoman said.

Niezabitowska compared the society's situation to the state of a patient who swallowed a bitter pill and a moment later still does not feel the medicine's effect. "We need patience and peace," she stressed.

She also stressed that in the first days of binding of the new rules of the game the producers act according to old methods trying to shift all costs of production onto consumers. She warned against such practices. "It is vital that we believe that this whole process has deep sense and that the government has control over this process," she added. [Transmission interrupted, PAP takes 2 and 3 not received]

New Image of Internal Ministry

Niezabitowska commented on currently consulted by the sejm two draft laws changing the structure and the functioning of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The spokeswoman recalled that there are plans to create two separate offices, one of them would embrace public order forces which is to be called "state police", while the second office would deal with the defence of the state and would fulfil modified, to a considerable degree, tasks of the security service.

In the new structure, both offices would be subordinated to the minister of internal affairs and would have joint logistics.

Will Najder Return to Poland?

The spokeswoman said that Minister of Internal Affairs Czeslaw Kiszczak has sent to Zdzislaw Najder, sentenced in absentia to death several years ago for antistate activities, several proposals concerning his return to Poland. Talks are being continued on this matter.

This was an indirect answer to a question concerning a court revision proceeding of Najder's case, who is former head of the Polish section of Radio Free Europe.

What Future for CMEA?

Several questions dealt with the future of CMEA in light of a critical statement on this institution made by Czechoslovak Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus, now in Poland.

Niezabitowska said that from the very beginning the government critically referred to the structure of this organization and is of the opinion that it should be reorganized, based on economic grounds and contacts among enterprises.

Currently, the Polish Government is not forwarding a proposal to liquidate CMEA. During the nearest meeting of heads of governments of states CMEA members in Sofia, the Polish side will present proposals to introduce market mechanism to relations within this organization.

Polish-Czechoslovak Rapprochament

Asked about the government's stand on a proposal to create a Polish-Czechoslovak confederation, recently presented by Professor Zbigniew Brzezinski of the U.S., Niezabitowska replied that the idea of Polish-Czechoslovak federation or confederation has not been reviewed by the Polish Government.

On the other hand, reviewed with special attention is the proposal of French President Mitterrand, who recently proposed the creation in the future of a large all-European confederation.

The spokeswoman did not announce the exact date of Tadeusz Mazowiecki's visit to Prague. However she did state that the visit will take place in the near future. She did not exclude talks also on Polish-Czechoslovak confederation during that visit. The talks will most certainly deal with considerable rapprochement between the two countries.

Developments in Panama

Asked what has inclined the Polish delegation to abstain from voting at the U.N. against the U.S. military invasion of Panama, Niezabitowska said: Our stand reflects our attitude towards a very complex situation in Panama. We are of the opinion that all conflicts should be solved in tune with the international law and the Charter of the United Nations and that is why Poland decided to abstain from voting in light of the equivocal situation in that country.

Senate Commission Discusses Interior Ministry

LD0501024490 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Members of the senate commission for human rights and law and order discussed the budgets of the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MSW] and the Ministry of Justice. The representatives of the MSW who took part were asked to what specific use the money hidden under various slogans will be put, including the expenditure on means outside the budget or the discretionary fund. It transpired from the explanations that the discretionary fund is allocated to cover the activity of members of the intelligence and counterintelligence service and to pay for the activity of agents. It was explained that the investment means will be allocated to the construction of new border crossings.

The presentation by General Zbigniew Pudysz, deputy minister of internal affairs, of the guidelines for the planned changes in the structure and organization of the ministry gave rise to a stormy discussion. The senators considered the plan to set up state police and a state protection office independent from it a correct decision. At the same time it was emphasized that one cannot allow a transfer to the police forces of former employees of the security service who have remained in the ministry and who are guilty of abusing the law while performing their professional duties.

Political Advisory Committee Formed

LD1712114889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0700 GMT 17 Dec 89

[From the "Military Magazine" program]

[Text] The Council of Ministers adopted a resolution setting up a Political Advisory Committee of the minister of national defense. Lieutenant Colonel Ireneusz Czyzewski, press spokesman for the Ministry of National defense, announced that the committee was set up to ensure that the main political and social forces represented in Parliament could express their opinions and be consulted on matters being examined which are within the competence of the Defense Ministry. Members of the commitee, of whom there will be 7-10, will be appointed and recalled at the recommendation of the minister of national defence by the prime minister.

Transportation Ministry Undersecretaries Named

LD2912154889 Warsaw PAP in English 1425 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 29—In connection with the creation of the post of minister of transportation and maritime economy, the chairman of the Council of Ministers has appointed the following undersecretaries of state:

—Jan Kuligowski, at the same time appointed first vice minister,

—Boguslaw Liberadzki

—Stanislaw Rybak

—Ewaryst Waligorski

—Andrzej Markowski

Acting at the motion of the industry minister, the premier recalled Andrzej Stefaniak from the post of president of the Office of Technical Supervision and named Iwo Jakubowski to the post.

The premier thanked the recalled undersecretaries of state and president of the Technical Supervision Office for their work to-date.

Jan Kuligowski, born 1936, heads teams examining the effectiveness of maritime economy management within the framework of central programs. A deputy to the Sejm (10th term) from the Gdansk District he is vice chairman of the Sejm Economic Policy, Budget, and Finance Committee, a PUWP [Polish United Worker's Party/ PZPR] member.

Boguslaw Liberadzki, 1948, a Fullbright Scholarship graduate, a member of the Transport Committee of the Pan Polish Academy of Sciences, chairman of the group of experts of economic and trends at the U.N. Internal Transportation Committee in Geneva. He is the organizer and coordinator of scientific research on the adjustment program of Polis transportation to the future Common Market in Europe, a PUWP member.

Stanislaw Rybak, 1944, has worked in the Ministry of Transportation since 1983, initially as a legal advisor and director of Legal Bureau and following reorganization as the director of the Legal Department, a member of the Polish Peasant Party "Odrodzenie" ["Renaissance"]

Ewaryst Waligorski, 1937, was elected in 1981 to the Solidarity Presidium of the regional board of Western Pomerania in Szczecin. Arrested during martial law, found not guilty by the district military court in Bydgoszcz, later detained. A senior specialist in the Pomeranian Railway Authority. He was chairman of the Solidarity National Section of Railwaymen up to December 16, 1989.

Polish Aid for Romania Reported

AU0801112990 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Dec 89 p 5

[PAP report: "Aid From Poland"]

[Text] Thousands of anonymous, selfless donors are calling at the Romanian Embassy in Warsaw every day. At collecting points for aid for the Romanian people set up by the Polish Helsinki Committee, the Independent Students Union, and the "Solidarity" Schools Committee, money, warm clothing, food, and medicines are being collected. In the entrance hall of the embassy is a list of several dozen Polish families who are ready to accommodate sick Romanian adults and children in their own homes.

All over the country, long lines are forming in front of blood-donor points. Blood is being shipped to Romania by special aircraft.

Krzysztof Grzebyk, head of the Polish Scouts Association, and Krzysztof Stanowski, head of the Association of Scouts of the Republic, appealed for help for the victims of the Romanian civil war.

Many health service premises have offered places for the sick and wounded. Hospitals in Wroclaw have offered to accept 100 Romanian patients. The Piotrow Trybunalski health service has allocated 127 hospital beds for sick and wounded Romanian citizens.

Many Polish families have claimed they are willing to receive Romanian children.

Special GAZETA Issue on Romania Published

AU2312132289 Paris AFP in English 1255 GMT 23 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Dec 23 (AFP)—East and West continued to hail the downfall of Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceausescu Saturday, with China sounding the only cautious note.

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev told parliament Saturday that Moscow would "see over the next few days what aid, medical or other, we can give the Romanian people", though he did not elaborate. [passage omitted]

In Poland, the Solidarity daily GAZETA put out a special, free edition Saturday on events in Romania, breaking the usual four-day absence of newspapers over the Christmas season.

The headline, "Romania is free", was splashed across the front page, while an editorial mourned "the terrible price" its people had paid for "their freedom and democracy.

"But they proved, by paying it, that in Europe there is no people less European than the others, ready to put up with a reign of evil." It hailed Romanians for "accomplishing more than anyone would have imagined", and said the "world bows before your greatness". It also urged contributions to a support fund. [passage omitted]

Iliescu Says Postponement of Elections Possible

LD0601151290 Hamburg DPA in German 1429 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—The first democratic parliamentary elections in Romania may be postponed by a month. There have been proposals to this effect, according to the Romanian state president who related this to WELT AM SONNTAG. On the other hand, Prime Minister Petre Roman stressed the commitment to hold free elections within 3 months in an interview with DER SPIEGEL.

Roman expressed his confidence in his country's future political opportunities. Without a doubt, Romania is, even now, capable of surviving as a democracy. The state president announced the first draft of an electoral law for January, and added that the first draft of a constitution would follow in February.

Asked about the supply situation, the head of government said that Romania's food and fuel would last the winter. However, President Ion Iliescu spoke of a "very heavy inherited burden" in view of the economic difficulties. Romania was short of energy, consumer goods, and food. "We are grateful for every helping hand extended to us."

Soviet Foreign Minister Visits, Meets Leaders

Shevardnadze Previews Visit

AU0501221490 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2017 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Interview with USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs Eduard Shevardnadze by correspondent Alexandru Stark in Moscow on 5 January—recorded; in Russian, with superimposed Romanian translation]

[Text] [Stark] We thank Mr Shevardnadze for granting us this interview. I go directly to the first question: In the circumstances of life in Romania today, full of important events both internally and internationally, your trip to Bucharest takes place at a moment of great significance. How does the Soviet Government and the country's leadership assess the importance of our revolution and the changes which have taken place in Romania, and how do you define in this context the visit which you will pay to Romania?

[Shevardnadze] I would like to start by mentioning that journeys and visits abroad are a common activity for me, and for a foreign affairs minister. Over the past few years, I have been to dozens of countries. I have experienced various emotions but now, I am telling you honestly, I admit that on the eve of this visit to Romania I am experiencing a very, very deep emotion.

Why? I think this is very clear. The visit will take place against the background of huge revolutionary changes which have taken place in Romania and which, as the leadership of the Soviet Union considers, have a historic significance for the present and the future of the Romanian people, although not only for the Romanian people. The revolution we are now talking about has enormous significance for the interests of Europe and has ramifications which can justifiably be considered as universal, important for the entire world.

Regarding our viewpoint, our assessment of the revolution, I would like to say that from the start, from the first days, our attitude was defined with clarity and a full sense of responsibility. The full and direct support of the Congress of People's Deputies was expressed and, twice, a declaration to that effect was adopted. The same full and direct support was expressed in the address of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev at the Congress, an address which clearly expressed our position, in supporting the revolutionary process which is taking place in Romania. This support was also conveyed during the lengthy telephone conversation between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and President Ion Iliescu. This took place before the New Year, and I believe that that dialogue has had a special significance for the future development of relations and cooperation in all fields.

[Stark] What are the main issues you will discuss in Bucharest?

[Shevardnadze] I do not think we will have an agenda, but I believe we will discuss with the Romanian leadership in particular the current position of Soviet-Romanian cooperation in the broadest sense of the word. I have in mind political cooperation on the important issues such as economic cooperation, which is of great importance at the moment, as well as trade, technical-scientific, cultural relations. I do not rule out the possibility of signing an agreement regarding the establishment of cultural centers, a Soviet one in Romania and a Romanian one in the Soviet Union, respectively in Bucharest and Moscow.

There is no doubt that we have plenty to discuss. We have to pay serious attention to modernizing our economic relations and introducing new forms of economic cooperation. You know that this cooperation is great in scope. Now, particularly at this time, we attach great importance to strictly observing our obligations for deliveries of gas, oil, other raw materials, and in all fields. This will be one of the groups of problems that we will tackle in detail. There is no doubt that we and the Romanian leadership will discuss the current situation in Europe, the problem of building our common European home and European economic region, various humanitarian issues, other problems pertaining to progress at the Vienna negotiations, and the interest shown by the Soviet Union, Romania, and all peoples in reducing military budgets, in order to create a new spirit in Europe. There are prospects for improved cooperation in this sphere.

Of course, we will also discuss the problems of immigration currently underway in both West and East, as well as other problems connected with the construction of a new

Europe and relations of a profoundly new kind. Likewise, we can discuss improvements in the mechanism of the Warsaw Pact, its democratization, and the organization and reconstruction of CEMA. Hence, as you can see, there are many problems to be discussed, but I am afraid we do not have time to enumerate them all here.

Let us not forget our joint international cooperation at the United Nations and other international organizations. One should bear in mind that the changes that have occurred in Europe in recent months may raise the issue of rethinking the political relations between various groups of states on the continent. This kind of thinking is going on everywhere in Europe. In view of the importance of the Romanian developments, there are additional opportunities and possibilities to speed up these processes, reduce dissension in Europe, and positively contribute to ongoing processes of political and economic integration and of European construction.

I believe that we will have to profoundly tackle those wonderful prospects opened up by your revolution for improving cooperation between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. We have advocated and continue to work for abolishing the blocs. At this time, there is a pretty widespread consensus on the need to gradually turn these military- political mechanisms into mechanisms for ensuring stability, something which is very important. I believe we will have no difficulty in coming to an agreement on this issue, as well.

[Stark] What would you like to convey to our radio listeners, at the end of this interview?

[Shevardnadze] It is not by accident that I said I am very excited about this trip, very excited. We have a heartfelt sentiment of admiration for the Romanian people's heroism and spirit of sacrifice. Once again, I would like to express our joy and admiration for all of the Romanian people, to which I want to add best wishes to the Romanian youth. I know that the Romanian youth were on the barricades and were the spearheads of the revolution. The fate of the revolution depended on the young people. I extend these sentiments to all those who spearheaded this popular revolution, the revolution of the whole people, for a new and democratic Romania. I also extend these sentiments to President Iliescu and the other leaders.

[Stark] Thank you from the bottom of my heart. Goodbye.

Shevardnadze Arrives; Welcomed

AU0601122190 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1000 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] At the invitation of the Minister of Foreign Affairs Sergiu Celac, the minister of foreign affairs of the Soviet Union, Eduard Shevardnadze, arrived in Bucharest this morning on an official visit to our country.

At Otopeni Airport, the chief of the Soviet diplomacy wad welcomed by Minister Sergiu Celac and by other officials.

Yevgeniy Tyazhelnikov, Soviet ambassador in Bucharest was also present.

Immediately after his arrival Eduard Shevardnadze was received by Ion Iliescu, president of the Council of the National Salvation Front. Talks are in progress now.

Iliescu, Shevardnadze Hold Talks

AU0601133790 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1300 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] Ion Iliescu, president of the Council of the National Salvation Front, today received Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, who is on an official visit to our country.

Prime Minister Petre Roman, Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac, and the Soviet ambassador of the Soviet Union in Bucharest, Yevgeniy Tyazhelnikov, also attended the almost 3 hours of talks. These talks were a chance to review a broad range of questions regarding bilateral relations and certain aspects of the current international situation.

At the end of the talks, Ion Iliescu and the Soviet foreign minister made statements to the press.

Further details will be reported later.

Iliescu, Shevardnadze News Conference

AU0601200090 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] Today Ion Iliescu, the president of the National Salvation Front, received Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, who is paying an official visit to our country. The talks, which lasted almost 3 hours, were attended by Prime Minister Petre Roman, Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac, and the ambassador of the Soviet Union in Bucharest, Yevgeniy Tyazhelnikov. The meeting provided an opportunity to review a broad range of subjects on bilateral issues and on certain international issues. At the conclusion of the talks, the participants spoke to the press.

In connection with the future of Romanian-Soviet contacts, Ion Iliescu said the following in Russian: I believe that currently an atmosphere has been created in which our relations will be carried out without any obstacles and for mutual benefit of both countries. At the moment, Romania faces complex political and economic issues. A very difficult period is beginning. Overthrowing the old is always somehow easier than the much more complicated and more difficult task of rebuilding anew. What we now try to do is to maintain the unity of our whole nation around such general goals as putting the economy and Romanian social life on a healthier foundation.

Asked about when he intends to visit the Soviet Union, Ion Iliescu said: I would like to do that as soon as possible, but, unfortunately, the situation in our country is very complicated at the moment. I have accepted with great satisfaction the invitation extended to me by Mikhail Gorbachev. I think that we will accomplish this, perhaps before the end of this month. Further, referring to the program of the National Salvation Front, the speaker said: In general, we want to be free of all dogmas and prejudices. We do not want to be the slaves of any preconceived ideas. We proceed on the basis of realities of life and of our society and we wish to fulfill our plans and objectives, which serve the people and make the life of our people easier.

Will you succeed in April, Iliescu was asked, to which he answered: I do not know. It is a very difficult issue. Already certain arguments have begun. Some have already begun to criticize us. Others said that we have chosen this date so as not to leave time for the opposition to get prepared. In reality it is very difficult to prepare such an event by April. There is already some consideration given to postponing the elections.

Asked whether he is satisfied with the talks he held in Bucharest, Eduard Shevardnadze said: I am very pleased and satisfied with the thorough, sincere, and frank talks, as it was also stressed by the esteemed president, it was a comradely discussion. The discussion was indeed comradely and concrete, and we received very valuable information about the origin of this historical revolution. We have received very important information about the plans of the Romanian leadership to bring the country out of a difficult situation. I am thoroughly convinced that these are realistic plans which, no doubt, will be supported by the people. I have also been convinced that general human values are indeed asserted in Romania.

Answering the journalists' questions, on the issues of the prospects of economic cooperation between Romania and the Soviet Union, Prime Minister Petre Roman said: I believe these prospects are very positive. Shevardnadze told me what the Soviet state believes in this respect, and we are very glad that this will open up very good prospects for the development of cooperation between our countries.

Speaking about Romania's position at the upcoming CEMA session, Petre Roman said: We favor a very open discussion because the CEMA has not been an efficient, structured organization. We should meditate and think over all these issues. It is necessary to use a new way of thinking in this respect. Romania has proposals but for the time being our proposal is to begin by summing up the current situation and then decide in what direction to proceed.

Answering journalists' questions, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze said he told Romanian leaders that all the Soviet people has been by the side of the Romanian people in these historic days and in this stage marking a turning point in the development of Romanian society, and that the Soviet people will stay by the side of Romania.

Further, Ion Iliescu answered a question on Romania's position regarding the Warsaw Pact.

[Iliescu] I think we will examine together the progress of further development of the Warsaw Treaty Organization within which political relations must take a central place. From a military- political group it must become a political-military organization and I believe that, together, we will find ways to develop our cooperation within this pact.

[Unidentified reporter]: Mr. Chairman, can you characterize your meeting with the Soviet foreign affairs minister for the benefit of Bucharest Radio?

[Iliescu]: It was a fairly fruitful meeting. In fact we expected this from the moment Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev announced the foreign minister's arrival, when there was talk of the very wide opening of the Soviet Union, which, from the start, expressed its total support—political, moral and material—for the popular revolution in Romania. Minister Shevardnadze [words indistinct] expressed this open position of the Soviet Union and the total sympathy of the Soviet leadership and people for the Romanian people and its revolutionary changes, and the determination to assist us in all sectors in order to lay the foundations of relations between the two countries on healthy ground, for bilateral cooperation which is efficient and useful for both countries and for international political relations.

[Reporter]: Was the question of a future top level Romanian- Soviet meeting raised?

[Iliescu]: We have received an invitation to be the guests of the Soviet Government, of the Soviet Union, when we can travel there. We have not given the exact date, our problems are complex, but we hope to be able to answer this invitation by the end of the month.

[Reporter]: Thank you very much.

Celac, Shevardnadze Hold Talks

AU0601221090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2029 GMT 6 Jan 90

["Celac-Shevardnadze Talks"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 06/01/1990—Romania's Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac conducted talks with the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR Eduard Shevardnadze.

Aspects were looked into of the current stage and the development prospects of the Romanian-Soviet relations and opinions were exchanged on international issues of mutual interest.

The two ministers called for an intensified cooperation between the two countries' foreign ministries.

Eduard Shevardnadze invited the Romanian foreign minister, Sergiu Celac, to pay a visit to the Soviet Union. The invitation was accepted with pleasure. The date of the visit is to be established by diplomatic channels.

Further on Shevardnadze Visit

AU0601213690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2021 GMT 6 Jan 90

["Romanian-Soviet Communique"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 06/01/1989—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CC [Central Committee] of the CPSU, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, paid an official visit to Bucharest on January 6, 1990.

Ion Iliescu, president of Romania's Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF], and Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman, received and conducted talks with E.A. Shevardnadze. The guest conveyed to the Council of the NSF leaders a verbal message and a salute on behalf of M.S. Gorbachev.

On half of the Council of the NSF and of the Romanian Government sincere thanks were expressed for Mr. Gorbachev's friendly message, for the Soviet leadership and people's solidarity with the Romanian people from the very start of the revolution which resulted in the mass movement that brought the NSF to power, as well as for the palpable aid given to the work of rebirth in Romania. The USSR's correct assessment of the events in Romania was shown to be of great importance for the Romanian people.

During the talks great attention was paid to a broad exchange of information on the situation in Romania and the USSR.

The revolutionary changes wrought in Romania and the steps taken by the NSF to stabilize the political situation and solve priority socioeconomic problems were outlined. Emphasis was placed on the whole Romania people's adhesion to the NSF platform, as an expression of the people's will for reconstruction and renewal in Romania, on the first measures taken by the new leadership to cancel the unpopular laws and regulations, to improve the people's living conditions, to work out the guidelines of a long-term economic strategy apt to put the economy on sound bases and promote democracy in all the areas of the social life, to secure the observance of man's rights and freedoms.

Eduard Shevardnadze informed about the current stage of perestroika in the USSR, the results of the Second Congress of the People's Deputies, the activity for the continuous strengthening of people's power, the creation of the state de jure grounded on the principles of humanism, and of a broad development of democracy. The Soviet minister underscored the solidarity of the Soviet people with the Romanian people who are for the attainment of the ideals of freedom, national independence, and dignity, and expressed the Soviet Union's support to the efforts of the National Salvation Front to do away with the legacy of the totalitarian regime and create democratic power structures.

Questions related to bilateral relations were surveyed. The joint determination was expressed to develop them on a sound, efficient base useful to both sides, setting from the observance of the principles of independence, sovereignty, equal rights, noninterference in domestic affairs, mutual confidence, freedom of option, and territorial integrity. New possibilities are created in this respect by the deep-going revolutionary transformations carried through in Romania and the USSR. In that context, it was agreed to develop relations in the economic, technical, scientific and cultural fields. Understandings in principle were covenanted regarding the opening of houses of culture in Bucharest and Moscow, on reciprocal terms, the development of contacts between persons and the simplification of reciprocal visits by the citizens of the two countries, in the border areas in particular, just as other questions.

The sides noted the coincidence of their viewpoints on the major issues of the international life and expressed their readiness to give further impetus to the cooperation between the two countries in the world arena, within international organizations, with a view to solving mankind's stringent problems.

Ion Iliescu and Petre Roman were invited to pay visits to the Soviet Union on behalf of the Soviet leadership. The invitations were accepted with pleasure. The dates of the visits will be agreed upon later on.

Shevardnadze News Conference

AU0701165390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1536 GMT 7 Jan 90

["Eduard Shevardnadze: the Romanian Revolution is a phenomenon of European and World Proportions"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 7/1/1990—On January 6, at the end of his official visit to Romania, Eduard Shevardnadze, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, held a press conference in Bucharest, which was attended by Romanian and foreign journalists. In his statement on the occasion the Soviet foreign minister said inter alia:

Undoubtedly, the Romanian revolution is a phenomenon of European and world proportions.

On behalf of the Soviet leadership, of Mikhail Gorbachev and of Nikolai Ryzhkov, I conveyed our congratulations and wishes of success to the Romanian people. I assured new Romania's leadership of our support to the cause of the revolution, to the renewal of all the areas of the social life. According to possibilities, the Soviet Union will grant Romania political, moral and material support.

I took great interest in the president's and the prime minister's reports on the events that preceded the revolution, on the aims of the revolution, on the changes in this country and on the plans for Romania's rebirth as a democratic state, as a state de jure.

Those I talked to did not hide the tremendous difficulties the country encounters in its attempt to do away with the burdening carryover from the past dictatorial regime.

I was greatly impressed with the optimism of the new leadership, with their belief in the Romanian people's creative potential, in its determination to accomplish the homeland's rebirth. The elections to take place will place the democratic regime, social progress and the country's prosperity on stable bases.

I could feel new Romania's current leadership worked actively and wisely for the consolidation of the political and social forces, for the recovery of the economic situation and of the sociopolitical life.

I also told my hosts that the Romanian revolution was welcomed with enthusiasm by the Soviet people, that show their support, as they agree with the restructuring process under way in the Soviet society.

In our talks, we approach in broad lines issues related to the development of an equal political dialogue, of economic cooperation between our two countries, as well as other problems.

It was agreed that in the near future a meeting of our two countries' prime ministers should be held, followed by a visit to Bucharest of the Soviet deputy prime minister, when questions related to material resources will be tackled, as well as by visits of representatives of ministries and departments.

Furthermore, we discussed questions relating to the Warsaw Treaty, CEMA and other bodies within which our two countries cooperate.

It was a pleasure for me to talk to Romania's new leaders. Our interviews were rich in content and filled with human warmth.

Answering further questions, the Soviet foreign minister showed that during Ceausescu's dictatorial reign the links between the Soviet Union and Romania had been artificially hampered in the economic, technical, scientific and cultural fields, in the area of interhuman relations. Our two countries' cooperation should be seriously updated and laid on new bases, in a word, it should be set on civilized bases, between two neighbouring countries and peoples.

Answering another question, the Soviet minister showed his country to reject in principle any form of dictatorship be it communist or, rather, pretending to be communist or bourgeois.

Asked whether the RCP's [Romanian Communist Party] exit from the Romanian political scene could affect the relations between the two countries, Eduard Shevardnadze said the links between the Soviet Union and Romania would have to be set on the principles of equality, mutual advantage, respect, and good neighbourliness. As for the parties and the number of parties to act in Romania this is something for the Romanian people to decide. We have always observed and we will observe the Romanian people's will, he said.

Eduard Shevardnadze said Romania's new leadership had asserted their attachment to the Helsinki Final Act, to the final document in Vienna. One of the points of the Helsinki Final Act is the proclamation of the European states' territorial integrity and the observance of existing borders. As for the relations between the population living in the Moldavian SSR and the Romanian people, he said, we decided that conditions would be put in place to encourage mutual visits and contacts. In this way, many of the problems in interhuman relations at present will disappear.

As for the Warsaw Treaty, the Soviet foreign minister stressed there was no divergency of opinions between the two countries. We decided to continue consultations for a gradual transformation of the treaty, which should be reconstructed and updated, he said.

Referring to the aid the Soviet Union sent to Romania, Eduard Shevardnadze said the USSR had sent Romania medicines and medical equipment worth 1.2 million roubles, emergecy hospitals for 18,000 and substantial amounts of food. And now money is being collected. Of importance is also the fulfilment of the obligations under the understandings already concluded, he said. Therefore, we continue to deliver 22 million cu.m of gas a day and the amount of oil sent to Romania in January stands at 390,000 tons. But we will no longer take the Romanian foodstuffs set under those understandings. The Soviet people understand the situation and it will no longer receive food from Romania. This is something the public opinion should know.

Asked about the future course of the situation in Europe after the collapse of the last Stalinist stronghold on the continent, Eduard Shevardnadze said the Romanian revolution was very important. I think the Romanian revolution is an event that opens prospects to the expansion of the all-European process. Secondly, I believe the decisions to be made by the Romanian leaders and the Romanian revolution will contribute to stepped-up preparations for the calling of a summit of the 35 states participating in the Helsinki Conference. This revolution had no Salvation Front. As President Iliescu said, it was a spontaneous movement, a revolution of the people, Eduard Shevardnadze said in conclusion.

Shevardnadze Departs

AU0601200990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1931 GMT 6 Jan 90

["Shevardnadze Leaves Bucharest"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 6 Jan 90—Saturday, 6 January in the evening the Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union Eduard Shevardnadze left Bucharest after having paid an official visit to Romania.

Upon departure at the Otopeni airport the guest was seen off by Romanian Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac, by other officials. Present was Y.M.Tyazhelnikov, Soviet Union Ambassador to Bucharest.

Protests in Bucharest as Shevardnadze Arrives

AU0601122490 Paris AFP in English 1043 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest, Jan 6 (AFP)—The Romanian Army took up positions around the hotel that will be used by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze who arrived in Bucharest on Saturday.

The Romanian League of Students has said that it will go ahead with a planned demonstration in central Bucharest during the visit, the first by a Soviet leader since the December 22 revolution. It rejected demands by the new government that the venue be changed.

Soldiers were posted inside and outside of the Intercontinental Hotel, where the Soviet minister was to give a news conference. All cars were moved away from the building.

Mr. Shevardnadze was greeted at Bucharest airport by the Romanian Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac. The airport, which was the scene of bitter battles between the Army and secret police units loyal to the Ceausescu family, was also heavily guarded.

The National Salvation Front [NSF] which took over after the toppling of Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceausescu on Friday asked the students not to hold their demonstration in Victory Square, close to the Foreign Ministry.

But after a meeting Saturday, student leaders attacked the request as "political maneuvering" and vowed that the event would go ahead in Union Square, and also in central Bucharest.

They said however that they had not yet received a response to their new proposal from the authorities. One delegate at the meeting, held at Bucharest University, said: "We want independent unions, like Student Solidarity in Poland, and the reforming under a new name of the organisations of the old regime."

"We want our rights and we think that the NSF wants to reconstitute the politicial organisations as before and not recognise our free student union," he added.

Sunday's demonstration is officially to demand the suspension of university exams, which started as planned on December 26 despite the upheavals of the country's revolution. Student leaders said that they would also be expressing their displeasure with the attitude of the NSF.

The students said that the Front had appointed six members to the League of Students 11 member Executive Committee whose credentials as student representatives were disputed.

Delegates also said that after three student leaders appeared on national television on Friday night, a Romanian television official was sacked.

Tens of thousands of mainly young people held a fresh demonstration Friday in the central city of Sibiu, informed sources said. They were protesting at the inclusion of officials tainted by the Ceausescu regime in the local branch of the ruling Council of the NSF.

A protest there earlier this week on the same issue drew several hundred people.

The city, one of Romania's largest, is the former stronghold of Nicolae Ceausescu's son Nicu and was tightly controlled by the feared Securitate secret police under the ousted government. Along with Bucharest, Timisoara and Brasov, it was also the site of some of the worst fighting during the uprising.

Meanwhile, several hundred ethnic Hungarians demonstrated Thursday in the town of Odorhei, in Transylvania, calling for Transylvania to be made part of Hungary, informed sources there said. The demonstration came the day before the temporary leadership announced national minorities would be given full rights, satisfying a demand several decades old.

Officials failed to confirm either the protest in Sibiu or that in Odorhei.

Hungarians form Romania's largest ethnic community. Recent statistics put their number at about two million.

Opposition to New Leaders Reportedly Growing

AU0501225190 Paris AFP in English 2210 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest, Jan 5 (AFP)—Members of Romania's newly legalised political parties intend to urge the National Salvation Front [NSF], which now holds power, to postpone elections it has planned for April, reliable sources said Friday.

They were speaking after a number of meetings and other incidents indicated growing opposition to the NSF.

Members of the large National Peasants' Party said that it planned to hold a demonstration in Bucharest on Sunday to protest the lack of resources which would cripple any attempt by it to stage an electoral campaign.

Voices were raised at a meeting here Friday of the Democratic Party in favour of U.N. supervision of the elections, party sources said.

Three prominent members of the League of Romanian Students interrupted television broadcasts on Friday by casting doubt on the legitimacy of the NSF's 11-member executive.

"We have been told that this committee consists of students and workers, but we want to know what kind of students these are," they said.

On Sunday, Romanian television announced the names of the executive members, saying that six of them were students.

The students who burst into the television studio on Friday also questioned the background of "a certain comrade Toma", who now heads the Union of Free Youth, the body which has replaced the youth wing of the defunct Romanian Communist Party.

Comrade Toma, they said, was a former first secretary of the Communist youth and a member of the central committee which served under the late dictator Nicolae Ceausescu.

Students of the Polytechnic Institute decided here on Friday to hold a demonstration on Sunday, student sources said.

The stated purpose is to protest against the decision of the authorities to confirm the date of examinations scheduled for January 26, although the start of the winter term has been delayed for 12 days because of the revolution.

But the protest, due to take place on Victory Square, the scene of heavy fighting during the fall of the dictatorship, is expected to become a demonstration against the NSF and its methods.

Both the National Peasants' Party and the League of Students said they had sought permission from the police to hold the rallies planned for Sunday.

Earlier this week, the NSF repealed laws which banned public gatherings under the Ceausescu regime, but said that 48 hours' notice was required for demonstrations.

The three students speaking on television complained, however, that when they asked for permission, they were "sent from pillar to post" because they did not have the required signatures.

The bureaucracy was still behaving as it did under Ceausescu, they said, and one of them, Mariano Munteanu, quoted the words of Romanian revolutionary Avram Iancu in 1848: "We did not fight for trifles."

Youth Reportedly Eager for Political Involvement

AU0601142090 Paris AFP in English 0656 GMT 6 Jan 90

[By AFP correspondent Erwan Jourand: "Romanians Scramble for Political Programmes"]

[Text] Bucharest, Jan 6 (AFP)—The burning questions which young Romanians in the lobby of the Intercontinental Hotel here want answered are "Can you get us the by-laws of French unions, or of Solidarity in Poland?", "Do you have the French Socialist Party's programme?", and "Who can finance a print-shop for us?"

The hotel was formerly put off limits to ordinary Romanian mortals by the feared Securitate secret police, but it has now become the promised land to young people thirsty for political information in advance of the free elections due next April, the first in 40 years. The Bucharest students, with their beards and small glasses, look like feverish Russian conspirators of the last century. In their political naivete, and for lack of better sources, they put their political questions to the correspondents they see moving around the hotel or the Bucharest streets, pen or microphone in hand.

They know nothing of the existence of the big international political groupings such as the Liberals, Christian Democrats, Social Democrats, and have no contacts with the embassies here.

They are learning their politics on the job, invading a field that was reserved for the Communist Party before the fall of Nicolae Ceausescu's dictatorship last month. They have no typewriters, and of course no microcomputers. Their manifestos are often written in pencil, on a table corner, before being turned over with due solemnity to the international press.

These documents generally list the same major points: rejection of Communism, and a desire to create a market economy and political parties.

In the democratic effervescence of the post-Ceausescu period, these amateur politicians' ideas are often confused. One might say he is for Swedish-style socialism, and then call himself a "Christian Democrat" a few minutes later. Another says he is close to the French neo-Gaullist right, and also expresses admiration for French President Francois Mitterrand, a Socialist.

The ideological confusion of the groups which abound here is equalled only by their number: the Democratic Party, Radical Party, Anti-Totalitarian Front, Free Youth Front, Democratic National Party, Group for Reflection on Social Dialogue. It is hard to say just what they represent in advance of the election, and who will succeed in public opinion.

The impact on young people of the old parties prior to Communism, the "Farmers" and the "Liberals", is an unknown factor, and the real importance of the new groups calling themselves parties remains to be determined.

Some groups that have made something of a name for themselves often owe it to the activities of their

spokesmen, who haunt the Intercontinental Hotel corridors looking for foreign parliamentarians and correspondents. Success for them is getting a communique read over Radio Free Europe or the Voice of America.

One such spokesman is young Nicolae Costel, who does administrative work at night and hunts down Western politicians and journalists by day on behalf of his Democratic Party.

Though he studies philosophy and Sanskrit in his spare time, his pockets overflow with cards of French members of parliament and rich members of the Romanian diaspora who have "contributed funds to the party", as he puts it.

International Student Meeting Reported

AU0701221490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1807 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 7/1/1990—On Sunday, January 7, students and members of the Free Student Trade Union of the Polytechnic Institute in Bucharest as well as representatives of other student movements in the capital city and throughout the country gathered in a peaceful meeting inside the Polytechnic.

During the meeting representatives of the students in England, Poland, France, Czechoslovakia and Australia expressed their solidarity with the student movement in this country. Romanian journalists and foreign newspapermen accredited to Romania were present. In the spirit of the true democracy of the present, the students requested that a number of claims referring to their learning and living conditions, included in a platform programme, should be met. Essentially, the speakers referred to the autonomy of higher learning institutes, the endorsement of a law of the organization of higher education at the end of consultations with all students, the establishment of the date and the duration of the examination session this winter by consensus of students and teaching staff, the write-off of the compulsory attendance of courses and seminaries, the restructuring of the educational process, the organization and management of student complexes by the student organizations in the institutes they belong to, the extension to two months of the leave for studies of the students attending evening courses, the liquidation of the forms of military training for students, the granting of merit stipends according to professional activities, etc. The students also requested that they should be represented to the government by their legitimate representatives, who are to be elected democratically and in line with their competence.

The Free Student Trade Union was shown to be a trade-union type organization, with no political nuances, its members being free to join any political party they want.

Students Unhappy With 'Puppet' Representation

AU0701161390 Paris AFP in English 1447 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest, Jan 7 (AFP)—One of six students in Romania's topmost policy-making body, told 2,000 hostile students at a meeting Sunday that he realised he was a "puppet" of the new leadership.

Marian Mierla, with five other students, was appointed to the Executive Committee of the Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF], officially to represent students who played a key role in the uprising against the late dictator Nicolae Ceausescu.

The students have criticised the new leadership for the presence of former Communist party officials who served under Mr. Ceausescu.

"I admit that I was chosen arbitrarily to represent the students, but the decision was made necessary by the revolutionary situation," he said to jeers from the crowd at the Polytechnic Institute 10 kilometers (six miles) outside the capital.

"It is also true that most student members of the Executive Committee are puppets.... In the Council I have been a puppet and the only thing I did was to get hold of printing material thanks to Mr. Mazilu (Dumitru Mazilu, the deputy leader of the Council of the NSF)," he said.

Replying to criticism of his right to speak on behalf of students in interviews with the foreign press, Mr. Mierla said that "Silviu Brucan has done the same thing in the name of the Romanian people."

Mr. Brucan, a former ambassador to the United States and the United Nations, is a senior member of the Council of the NSF.

The students also criticised the way in which the authorities were handling the distribution of foreign food aid. One said: "Food supplies are being mixed pell-mell with medical drugs and those responsible for sorting (mainly young soldiers) are incompetent."

The students were preparing to march on the centre handling relief supplies but were warned to avoid the risk of staging an unauthorised demonstration.

At the sorting centre, NSF officials denied there were any major problems although they admitted having staffing problems. They said the students could help in distributing the aid if they so wished.

The 2,000 students met at the Polytechnic to call for educational reforms, while the youth branch of the National Peasants Party held a silent demonstration in the city centre.

The students had originally planned to hold a demonstration in central Bucharest opposite the Council's

headquarters in the foreign ministry building but were dissuaded by the authorities from doing so "for security reasons".

After the students agreed, the Education Ministry gave into demands to postpone exams due on January 26 because of the recent political turmoil. It said that any students not ready for their exams during the second semester could arrange their own dates with their professors.

Spurred on by this victory, the students changed their plans again and called a general assembly to press demands for teaching reforms, and the right to organise unions and other associations nationwide.

Earlier Sunday, 300 people marched silently through the city centre in a first demonstration called by the National Peasants Party.

The march was to commemorate its historic leaders, Iuliu Maniu and Ion Mahalache, who were imprisoned under Gheorghe Gheorghiu, Nicolae Ceausescu's Communist predecessor, and to mourn those who died in the December revolution.

It was the first demonstration by the revived party, which was Romania's biggest before the Communists came to power.

Demonstrators, who gathered at the party's new headquarters in the centre of the capital, were mostly young, but also included older people who belonged to the party four decades ago.

They marched behind the national flag, with the Communist emblem cut out, some carrying lit candles, others icons or funeral wreaths. Above their heads fluttered banners bearing slogans: "God hears us, punish Communism", "Free and proper elections" and "The martyrs wanted freedom and bread."

Young party members, with makeshift paper badges bearing the party's symbol -a stylised eye-kept order, directing traffic and urging demonstrators to obey the party's request for silence.

The march crossed central Bucharest, stopping at several improvised chapels erected on the site where victims fell during the fighting in December, before breaking up without incident in Romana square, close to Victory square, where the Front has its headquarters.

Sibiu Official Denies Anti-NSF Demonstration

AU0501172590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1904 GMT 4 Jan 90

["Denial"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 4/1/1990—Asked by "ROMPRES" to inform about an alleged anti-Front demonstration in Sibiu on 3 January, Mr. Cornel Bucur, vice-chairman of the County Council of the National Salvation Front, answered that no one in the County Council knew about such a demonstration. The truth is, he said, that on 3 January, the County Council called all the representatives of the Front's supporting committees in enterprises and institutions to an open dialogue. More than 120 representatives attended. The County Council set forth at length its strategy of action which has been promoted from the moment it had been set up and which will be furthered in the period to come.

The participants asked numerous questions in connection with the way in which supporting committees were to be set up and to operate, with their attributes. The County Committee members supplied immediate answers. There was an open, broad dialogue on all economic, political and supply issues in Sibiu these days. Firm protest was formulated against the defective way of distributing the food aid, tangible proposals being set forth to amend the state of affairs, against the insufficient exigency shown in the inquiries conducted on the individuals who were guilty of acts of terrorism, who helped the terrorists or who showed sympathy to them, against the not too operative measures taken to completely liquidate the old power structures in the municipality and the county as a whole.

Mr. Cornel Bucur said life had returned to normal in Sibiu. Enterprises work according to the technical-material supply at their disposal and the population's supply with foodstuffs, power and heat improves day by day as aid comes in from other counties.

Extraordinary Military Tribunals To Try Terrorist

AU0701223890 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Text] We present to you the text of the decree-law regarding the establishment of extraordinary military tribunals to try and punish terrorist actions:

Taking into account the fact that during and after the victory of the people's revolution of December 1989, terrorist actions which resulted in the loss of human life and in material destruction were carried out by elements acting in the service of the dictatorship, it is necessary to urgently try and punish those guilty of such actions, the Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF] decrees:

Article 1. Extraordinary military tribunals are set up in all the counties and in the Bucharest municipality to try those guilty of terrorist actions.

Article 2. The extraordinary military tribunals conduct the trial with a panel of judges consisting of two judges from the county courts delegated by the president of theses courts and three officers designated by the local military commands. In the Cluj, Iasi and Timisoara counties, as well as in the Bucharest municipality, the panel consists of two judges from the military tribunals of the large units belonging to these garrisons delegated by the presidents of these tribunals and three officers designated by the local military commands.

Article 3. The extraordinary military tribunals try offenses stipulated by the Penal Code and special laws, offenses which were commited with a view to suppressing the people's revolution and destabilizing the state, threatening its very existence and the life, physical integrity and health of persons, the public and personal patrimony and the assets of the national cultural patrimony.

The extraordinary military tribunals also try the offenses of concealing and abetting the offender in connection with the facts contained in the first paragraph. The dispositions of the Penal Code and of other normative acts referring to composition according to the status of the person are not applicable.

Article 4. The trial of actions covered by Article 3 is done urgently in accordance with the procedure of flagrant offenses. The participation of the prosecutor in the trial is compulsory. In case of compounded offenses, invisibility or collusion, the trial of all actions is conducted by the extraordinary military tribunals. Legal assistance is compulsory. If the accused has no defense council, one will be officially appointed.

Article 5. Appeals against the sentences pronounced by the extraordinary military tribunals are considered urgently by the territorial military tribunal with a panel consisting of three judges.

Trials of 'Terrorists' Begins in Sibiu 8 Jan

AU0801102290 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1000 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] During a news conference that was held today at Bucharest Intercontinental Hotel, the official spokesman for the National Salvation Front, Aurel Dragos Munteanu, announced that the first trial of terrorists before the extraordinary military tribunals, will take place in Sibiu today.

As is known, Nicu Ceausescu, the dictator's son, was the [Romanian Communist Party] first secretary in that county.

Aurel Dragos Munteanu said that it will be the first trial of this kind since the extraordinary military tribunals were set up, mentioning that the press will have free access to the trials of terrorists.

NSF Spokesman on Trials, Elections

AU0801104890 Paris AFP in English 1033 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest, Jan 8 (AFP)—The first trials of "terrorist" suspects before one of the emergency military courts set up in Romania were to begin Monday in Sibiu, former stronghold of Nicu Ceausescu, son of the late dictator.

Aurel Dragos Munteanu, official spokesman for the National Salvation Front [NSF], told a press conference that the first people to appear would be suspects arrested after clashes with people in the street.

The new authorities have labelled as "terrorists" those who fought against the revolution, including members of the Securitate secret police.

Mr. Munteanu said the hearings would be open to the press. Each court will comprise two judges, chosen from regional courts by their presiding judges, and three military officers, selected by their local commanders.

The terrorist suspects face life sentences if convicted. Romania abolished the death penalty following the execution of Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu on December 25.

The military courts will be able to judge all the acts which have endangered the state, human life, public or private property and crimes of non-denunication and help to terrorists.

Questioned about the possible appearance of Nicu Ceausescu, Mr. Munteanu said an inquiry into his activities was still continuing.

Asked about reports that general elections, scheduled for April, might be postponed Mr. Muntreau said that no firm decision had been made, but the provisional government of the NSF which assumed power after the Ceasusecus' overthrow wanted them held as soon as possible.

Meanwhile the Romanian Foreign Ministry announced Monday that Bucharest would observe the final document of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe "in its entirety", removing all reserves expressed under the former regime.

Bucharest had particular reservations about the human rights aspect of the final declaration signed in January 1989. Romania was the only country of the 35 members—all Europe with the exception of Albania plus the United States and Canada—to express reservations.

Romania now accepts the document "in its entirety" said the ministry and will play its role alongside other European countries in establishing a climate of peace, security and free collaboration between peoples on the continent.

Mr. Munteanu said that Romania was currently negotiating with the European Community to obtain "adequate supplies for our people."

He said Prime Minister Petre Roman was to attend a meeting of the Eastern trading bloc COMECON in Sofia, Bulgaria. But he said the premier had no mandate for Romania's withdrawal from the grouping. Mr. Munteanu said Bucharest would like to see it reformed because in its present form it was obsolete and not fairly organized.

Roman's Speech at 4 Jan NSF Meeting

AU0501142090 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2009 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Speech by Prime Minister Petre Roman at the Council of the National Salvation Front meeting in Bucharest on 4 January—live or recorded]

[Text] Esteemed colleagues, let us make a general analysis of the economic situation in our country. In the joy of the first days of the victory of our revolution there was a natural, normal tendency to believe that we would be able to manage these economic problems, able to improve the condition of the economy, and that things will move quickly enough, and [word indistinct]. Therefore, I feel that it is my duty to say that we must be aware of the fact that the Romanian economy was in a state of profound crisis. As a matter of fact, we were confronted with a blocked mechanism. This fact is a result of the very nature and of the methods of the dictatorial regime, which imposed actions that were lacking any economic or any technical foundation, the brutal movement of human and material forces, without any well-planned basis, while production levels were imposed without any serious consideration as to our raw and other material resources. And finally, as I have already mentioned, there was the blockage of the whole economic mechanism.

As a result of this, the task of the government has been and continues to be to try and get out of the crisis. I am going to tell you in a few words the manner in which we tried to get a handle on this crisis, but I would still like to mention something of a principled and general nature, namely that from the very beginning, from the first hours of the revolution, the strategic and immediate priority as far as the orientation of the economic activity is concerned, was to start satisfying the immediate needs of the people and to immediately raise people's standard of living. This priority, since I called it strategic, still exists and I believe that it will continue to exist for a long time, because it is evident that for 15 years at least, as far as I can ascertain, this problem was not only neglected but trampled underfoot by the dictatorial regime. All the measures of an economic nature that we have taken, as it is easy to see, are and continue to be directed toward obtaining results in this field.

Certainly, all these measures imply links within the economic mechanism which are not always or cannot always be ensured. We were confronted with the risk of a lack of balance between branches and the budget, and I am glad to be able to tell you the latest news, which I received 1 hour ago after consultations with the ministries, that we are not in the situation of facing a lack of balance, a lack of equilibrium between branches and budget. However, there is a danger that such a thing could happen. Now, I would like to tell you some additional concrete facts.

As I stated from the very beginning, at the first meeting of our Council—at the first session of our Council—we aimed at having competent, intelligent people at the head of the government, ministries, and at the level—for the time being—of the management of ministries, people who can take over the management of these economic sectors immediately and efficiently, because, as I have stated many times within this framework, I do not want to repeat it here again, fortunately, we have exceptional reserves which the dictator not only eliminated but ignored—that is, the competence and intelligence of people. The fact that this resource exists and operates, is proved by the numerous immediate achievements in all economic sectors.

The destruction, at least in the first stage, of the centralized chains that came directly from the former dictator and the liberalization—as a matter of fact the normalization—of some management links, made it possible for existing and unused potentials to be put into motion at once. However, there are also some specific problems about which I want to address now. For the time being, we cannot proceed on the path of brutal decentralization. This would mean to endanger the whole operation of our economy. We are, however, concerned with moving toward decentralization and toward giving autonomy to enterprises, but, at this moment, we are thinking of this fact and thoroughly studying this issue and doing so as cautiously as possible.

In this respect, we have set up the National Institute of Economic Research of the Government, which has taken over this task and has begun studying these issues.

Thus, for the time being, we are finalizing a plan for at least the first term of this year. However, the finalization of the plan faces some real problems brought about by the lack of basic resources, which is a result of the fact—as I was telling you before—that, at least in the past 5 years, there was no serious, close correlation between resources and the development of the economy.

By the way, in connection with economic development, there were some issues that I wanted to mention. Many of the obstacles in our economic development were caused by the use of primitive technologies. A great deal of the basic technologies were primitive. It was often said in the press that technologys should be old, this being safer—a primitive mentality. In the field of metallurgy and chemistry we are using technologies from 1948 and in the field of energy we are working with prewar technologies. The state of crisis, in this case of the industrial infrastructure, is connected with the lack of modern technologies.

Let us return to the issue of ensuring primarily energy resources. The planned quantities take into consideration the real possibilities of production, of energy transportation means, and import possibilities. So far we have imported gas and electricity, but under conditions in which we have freed industry and increased the supply of gas and energy to the population by 40-45 percent compared with the previous period. In the field of

imports, we are examining the international arena, especially our neighboring countries, where we can immediately procure electricity and gas. In a few days we will have a clear picture. I personally believe that, under the current conditions and with the moral support that we are getting everywhere, this issue can be solved. However, it means that the current consumers should understand how important this issue is and how carefully these energies must be used. This time it is not a request in the way that (Ceausescu?) used to request, but because at this moment we are all people of good faith and all of us want every sector to function to its greatest potential, at the acceptable parameters from a technological and quality point of view. This has to be achieved by making ourselves aware of these issues, that we have much [word indistinct] in the utilization of these resources.

I call on you—and you should convey this to others—in connection with this first and very serious problem with which our economy is confronted.

As far as supply for the people is concerned, for the first term the market fund resulting from domestic production and imports represents—maybe the figure is not very important—85.5 billion lei; This figure is important in that it represents one third more than the first term last year. I believe that this is a very important result. A marked increase has been achieved in the field of agricultural products and foodstuffs: meat, meat-produce, butter, edible oil, sugar, sweets, vegetables, and potatoes. Likewise, in the case of ready-made garments, knitwear, shoes, and [word indistinct], private cars, furniture and other things.

We have adopted an importation plan which is very ambitious for the current stage of our economy. However, taking into consideration the strategic priority that I was previously telling you about, we have decided, with appropriate caution, to adopt it. It is an import plan worth 125 million dollars and 155 million rubles, representing three and a half times more than the approved imports plan last year in this period. It is 3.5 times more than at that time. I believe that this is really an outstanding plan. And here I am referring only to rubles, because as far as hard currency is concerned there was nothing. Therefore, we are 3.5 fold greater this year than last year, while in dollars it is simply 125 million dollars. What are our plans in the fields of imports? [unidentified person says a few indistinct words]

In the field of imports: meat, fish, and citrus—that is, lemons, oranges, grapefruit—coffee, olives, [unidentified speaker adds "bananas"], milk, milk powder, baby food, cheeses, and some items of general use.

Somebody asked me a question. Now I can answer him directly. First of all he did not understand that 125 million dollars means compared to zero. That is, if one divides 125 million by zero the figure is unchanged.

The second issue: Let us not forget that here we have not included the import of gas and electricity for the population's consumption. So, I believe that it is not appropriate to tighten up to the point of actually endangering our valutary financial balance. With all that we import, as I have said, we can achieve a sensible and serious increase for the population, as regards both variety and volume. No doubt that this issue, since we are discussing it here, I can answer, if it is possible, [words indistinct]. I am presenting here realistic issues.

In connection with.....[changes thought]. Certainly everybody asks this question, and you know from the the president's New Year message, what we will be doing with the dictator's lunatic investments. After an initial analysis that we have carried out at the economic ministry, you can see that some constructions have already been stopped. I am talking about the Siderurgical Combine of Calarasi, which is an absurd investment altogether, but which has been achieved with great efforts. Even from an ecological point of view it is absurd, not to mention the economic point of view. This investment was made without any justification.

The second stage production of heavy water at the Chemical Combine Drobeta Turnu Severin is another crazy investment made soley for prestige [an unidentified speaker says something and Roman answers him indistinctly in a tone of agreement]

The installation of ammonia and urea in Slobozia and Navodari, are other investments without any justification.

The Center of Bituminous Shale in Anina, the famous center, which profited no one, is another one. The Arges River Development for navigation—that is, the famous Danube-Bucharest Canal, as well as the hydropower plants along this canal and the construction of the free zone in Constanta Port.... I do not know whether you have any knowledge of what the dictator wanted to build in Constanta—on a several kilometers-long beach, the greatest port in the world.

And of course, the Port of Calarasi Siderurgical Combine and the construction work of Carpati Central Economic Office—most of them were linked with those central buildings from the fantasy and the imagination of the dictator who started to implement them— well, this economic establishment which will pass under jurisdiction of the Construction Ministry, because it has the task to take over the rebuilding of buildings that have been deteriorated during the days of revolution.

As far as foreign trade is concerned, we asked each ministry to draw up an emergency note that we call a salvation note, because in this field of activity—previously I was talking about the outdated technologies—in which, not for a year or two but for over 10 years, the import of not even one single device has been approved. I give you a simple example: The import of a protection device for the transportation and distribution of pit gas has not been approved. This is an extremely

dangerous issue. No imports in the social, health, education and other fields have been approved. The Ministry of Telecommunication is in a disastrous state. The Ministry of Transportation, as far as the means of communications of this ministry are concerned, is the same. I have asked these ministries to draw up a salvation note—that is, to see what impact it will have on the economy for these devices or even technologies, but mainly devices, for our national economy to be imported.

Our foreign debt payment balance is at a very acceptable level. This is something that we have expected, because once the country was emptied to pay debts, certainly the foreign payment balance could not be very serious. We are talking of only about half a billion dollars outstanding. This is very little. However, we have still many sums to receive, that add up to 2.5 billion dollars. Now the issue of rapidly drawing up contracts for exports is topical, both with socialist countries and for hard currency.

Another issue that we have approached is the domestic monetary balance. Our concern is to ensure a healthy monetary circulation, because it is normal for money to circulate. It is important to achieve a real equilibrium between the income and monetary expenditures of population. I give you a positive example in this respect. In the fourth term of 1989, 3.3 billion lei was put into circulation—that is, it was given to the population, and in the last 3 days of 1989, 3.2 million lei has been returned. This is a very nice thing I must say. We are thinking of measures to attract money from population through normal, commercial means, such as sale of dwellings, construction of housing and of other durables for credit, and new forms that stimulate deposits to the CEC [Savings and Deposits Bank]—that is, to banks. In order to use the entire labor capacity—labor force—of our country, we believe that a great number of installations that do not operate properly, should be repaired and revised, especially in the field of energy, but also in other areas. This would permit us to see—now we are in the cold season—that if they are not working properly, generally during the cold season they operate worse than usual. Therefore, we stop them, we repair them, we revise them, and when spring comes, the work will acquire a totally different character.

Other issues are the withdrawal of military personnel from all slave work and respect for the normal regime and duration of work in all fields of activity.

I have a problem which is not the responsibility of the government but belongs to the government. There are two funds that were created together with the revolution. The Liberty Fund, in lei, and the Reconstruction Romania fund—in hard currency. We should decide, who, how, and in what way we should spend the money from these funds. There are many applications, but we, the Council of the Front, should decide who, how, and in what direction these expenditures whould be forwarded.

Mazilu Report on Draft Constitution, Election Bill

AU0501163590 Bucharest Domestic Service n Romanian 2030 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Report on "the State of Progress of Work for the Drafting of New Constitution and Election Bill" presented by Dumitru Mazilu, first vice president of the Council of the National Salvation Front, at a working meeting in Bucharest on 4 January—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] At another point on the agenda, the first vice chairman of the Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF], Dumitru Mazilu, presented the state of progress of the work involved in drawing up the new Constitution and the new Election Bill:

[Begin recording] [Mazilu] Mister Representatives, we have prepared the draft election bill and we think that you will have it on the table in front of you within the next 10 days. Through this draft bill we aim at three principles:

1. To guarantee the universal, equal, direct, and secret character of this institution, for the first time after so many years,

2. To allow for the promotion of the best of the best—and we have in mind two criteria; first, that of competence and, second, that of moral behavior. In other words, the best of the country's citizens based on these criteria and not on personnel files or other criteria;

3. We will watch out so that there is no possibility of rigging these elections.

These are the three principles. Do you agree with them? Within the next 10 days you will have the documents on the table. [voices of assent in the background]

As to the draft of the new Constitution, in drawing up this draft law, which is a complete document and which will be adopted in the first constituted assembly, which will become the Constituent Assembly, the first Romanian Assembly, we aim at the following three principles:

1. At the center of the Constitution there are no political "isms"—socialism, capitalism, communism, or any such "isms"—but only the human being. We will bear in mind all of Romania's past traditional regulations and will observe all our international commitments which will ensure to man his fundamental rights and freedoms. To this are subordinated all future structures and our vision in this respect;

2. There will be a separation of state powers. There will be no interference between the legislative and the executive and judicial powers. This full autonomy is also aimed at in the thesis of our Council which was made public—that there is no connection between the state and political activities. The state activity is separate from political activities;

3. We want to establish a truly democratic, traditional parliament for Romania, vested with all the advanced

and modern structures in existence in the world, so that in the future there should be, in Romania, open and honest debates of all of the country's affairs.

These are the three principles. Do you agree with them? [voices of assent in the background]

Two more things I would like to touch upon: Proposals have been brought to my attention from people who have suffered in the past that we should adopt a bill, a decree or a decree-bill, according to which the rights of all those who suffered politically under the old regime should be reinstated. Do you agree with the drafting of such a text? [voices of assent] Another proposal put forth by the young revolutionaries is to adopt a decree-bill according to which the famous, better said odious, boulevard of the victory of so-called socialism should be called Boulevard 22 December and the square in which so many people were killed in the capital should be called Revolution Square. [Some grumbling in the background]

[First unidentified speaker] Excuse me, but I do not think that it should be called Boulevard 22 December.

[Mazilu] These are merely proposals.

[First unidentified speaker] There is no connection between that boulevard and what happened.

[Second unidentified speaker] I agree. The date is not significant. There should be a symbolical name such as freedom.

[First unidentified speaker] No, the date seems to me to be significant; it is the boulevard which does not seem to me significant. That is, we can call Boulevard Magheru by this name.

[Third unidentified speaker] Let us think longer on these two points. [they all speak together and it becomes unintelligible] [end recording]

[Announcer] Then follow the debate, article by article, of the draft guidelines aimed at regulating the activities and responsibilities of the territorial councils of the Front, as well as of those in enterprises and institutions. Many proposals have been drawn up which will be reflected in the final form of the document.

Plans To Depoliticize Romanian Education

AU0501163990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1421 GMT 5 Jan 90

["Depoliticization of Romanian Education"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 5/1/1990—The new Ministry of Instruction of Romania works for the depoliticization of the Romanian school this year. Only one social-humanist discipline will be taught, provisionally called "notions of democracy" as of March 1, in high schools and in the course of the second semester in faculties, except for the specialty faculties of history, philosophy and law. These measures are welcomed by the country's studying youth, especially in consideration of the fact that starting with the third quarter and the second semester respectively, the pupils and students will have classes only five days a week, while on the sixth day optional activities will be organized (artistic and scientific circles, debates, preparation with the best teaching staff so as to have the private coaching gradually reduced).

Practical activity will be limited in high schools to three weeks a trimester and will be organized in a supple manner, in keeping with the specialities, and to about a month at the end of the academic year in faculties.

As for the admission to higher schools, the disciplines for the contest will be announced soon for all profiles, specialties and forms of education, full-time courses. Proposals are under examination for the evening and extramural courses as well as other proposals.

Government Plans Guarantees for Ethnic Hungarians

AU0501224790 Paris AFP in English 2106 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest, Jan 5 (AFP)—The Romanian Government announced Friday plans to "recognize and guarantee individual and collective freedoms" to the country's ethnic Hungarian minority, oppressed for years under the dictatorship of Nicolae Ceausescu.

In a special television broadcast, the Council of the National Salvation Front said new laws designed to protect Romania's national minorities would also apply to ethnic Germans and Serbs.

The Council said it would draft and institutionalize new legislation "favoring the use of mother tongues of minorities, promotion of national culture and the defense of ethnic identities."

A new government ministry charged with supervising the welfare of Romania's ethnic minorities will also be created, the Council said.

The country's ethnic Hungarian population, much of which is located in the Western region of Transylvania, was victimized by a land redistribution program under the Ceausescu regime.

The program called for razing thousands of small country villages and relocating the inhabitants to new but poorly-constructed concrete apartment blocks.

Celac Grants Interview to ADEVARUL

AU0501164190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1422 GMT 5 Jan 90

["An Interview of Romania's Foreign Minister"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 5/1/1990—"Diplomacy is and will remain a profession"—Romanian Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac stated in an interview with the newspaper ADEVARUL (5 January). Referring to the necessity to reorganize the entire activity of the ministry he runs, he expressed his hope that he would manage to organize a "ministry of professionals" working to the best of their ability. "Hence—he pointed out—everything we do is based on a unitary conception. We have a unitary, detailed plan."

Next, Sergiu Celac said that his mission would end in April this year with the formation of the government of the first free elections scheduled in Romania, stressing: "I would like to be able to give my successor a ministry of professionals, an efficient instrument to implement the foreign policy of decision makers. According to the law—he added—I and my close associates, the whole institution must keep away from politics and I will be the last to swerve from the letter or the spirit of the law."

In connection with the sustained diplomatic activity deployed these days in Romania, Sergiu Celac announced that besides the official visits of the USSR, France and FRG foreign ministers, other visits are under discussion.

NSF Communique Provides Regulations for Meetings

AU0601120290 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1000 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] We will now present a communique on behalf of the Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF].

In connection with the intention of a youth organization to organize a meeting in Victory Square, the NSF Council announces that for security reasons this area, as well as the Palace Square and the Romanian Television area, cannot be used for such purposes.

Meetings can be organized in any other place in Bucharest. It is specified that the place and duration of such meetings have to be reported to the bodies envisaged by law, so that the security of the participants and the peaceful progress of these public meetings can be ensured.

NSF Issues Decree-Law Abrogating Death Penalty

AU0801103390 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Text] In order to emphasize the profound humanist nature of the regime installed in Romania by the people's revolution and in order to implement the citizens' proposals, the Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF] issued a decree-law on abolishing the death penalty and on modifying and abrogating certain provisions in the penal code and in other regulations. This document decrees:

Article 1. The death penalty for certain infringements of the penal code and of special laws has been abolished and has been replaced with life imprisonment.

Article 2. As of the date of issue of the present decree-law, all stipulations included in the penal code, the code of criminal procedure, and other legal norms, except for those included in Article 4, on the death penalty, are considered as referring to life imprisonment.

Article 3. Death penalties applied through decisions which remained definitive but have not been carried out are replaced with life imprisonment in accordance with the decision on replacing this punishment.

Article 4. Articles 54 and 55, Article 120 paragraph 4, and Article 130 from the penal code, and the provisions regarding the execution of the death penalty included in Law No. 23 of 1969, and in the regulation approved by the decision of the Council of Ministers No. 2,282/1969 are abrogated.

Decree-Law on Local State Bodies

AU0701223790 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1600 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Text] Half an hour ago we received the text of the decree-law regarding the organization and functioning of the local state administration bodies.

Thus, the Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF] decrees:

Article 1. On the date of the present decree, mayoralties as local state administration bodies are created in counties, in the Bucharest Municipality, municipalities, in the districts of Bucharest Municipality, towns, and communes.

Article 2. The local state administration bodies conduct the administrative activities in the counties, in Bucharest Municipality, municipalities, the districts of Bucharest Municipality, in towns, and communes based on and with a view to achieving the objectives contained in the program of the Council of the NSF and in the decisions of the Front's local councils, and ensure the implementation of all legal provisions in force.

Article 3. The local state administration bodies solve—in the units in which they are operating—local economic, social, cultural, educational, health, and trade problems, as well as questions regarding social assistance, labor, social security, financial assistance, agriculture, communal administration and housing, municipal and private roads, local transportation and other problems established by law through the specialized bodies and units in their subordination.

Article 4. The local state administration bodies consist of:

In Bucharest Municipality: one mayor, two deputy mayors, one secretary and seven members.

In the counties: one mayor, one deputy mayor, one secretary, and six members.

In municipalities and the districts of Bucharest Municipality: one mayor, one deputy mayor, one secretary, and four members.

In towns and communes: one mayor, one secretary, and three members.

The mayors, deputy mayors, the secretaries, and members of the local state administration bodies cannot be members of local NSF councils.

Article 5. The composition of the local state administration bodies is established according to positions of the local NSF councils.

Article 6. The local state administration bodies, on the whole, and each of their members are responsible to the local NSF councils and to the hierarchically higher state administration bodies of the government.

Article 7. In fulfilling their duties, the local state administration bodies issue decisions with a simple majority of votes by their members which are signed by the mayor and are countersigned by the secretary.

The decisions of a general interest of the local state administration bodies will be made known to the citizens by any publicity means.

In local administrative units where people of other nationalities, other than Romanian, are living, these decisions will be made known to the citizens in the language of the given nationality as well.

Article 8. The decisions of the local state administration bodies can be cancelled by the hierarchical bodies when the latter believe that they are at variance with the laws, decrees, and decisions of the government, and with the decisions of the local councils which issued them and with the hierarchical bodies.

Article 9. Local specialized state administration bodies are under the jurisdiction of both the mayoralty and the ministries and the other specialized central bodies. Mayoralties have their own specialized apparatus organized in accordance with the law.

Article 10. Mayoralties exercise their rights and fulfill their obligations as a judicial person—county, municipality, district of Bucharest Municipality, town, and commune.

In executing the budget, the mayor fulfills the duty of main coordinator of credits.

Article 11. The local state administration bodies meet as often as necessary and at least once a week, their operation being valid only if the majority is met.

The convening of the meeting is made by the mayor.

[Signed] Ion Iliescu, NSF president.

Ion Iliescu Assesses Revolution, Goals

AU0701200790 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1831 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Radio-television relay of speech by Ion Iliescu, president of the Council of the National Salvation Front, in Bucharest on 7 January—live or recorded]

[Text] Esteemed compatriots, at the end of the first week of the new year and only two weeks since the victory of the people's revolution, once again I address our country's citizens on behalf of the NSF [National Salvation Front].

First, I want to mention—what all of you have noted—the broad international reaction to our revolution and the unanimous assessment of the events in Romania as a genuine people's revolution.

I have noted, and the press reports daily on the extensive international solidarity with our people, both on the part of government and civic circles and on the part of the peoples in various countries—that is, moral, political, and material solidarity.

All this is unanimous recognition of the particular role played by the revolutionary movement in our country and constitutes an unprecedented manifestation of the prestige gained by Romania and by the Romanian people in the international arena.

As a first inventory only two weeks after the victory of the people's revolution, we have to note that this short period has been a very busy period. In the first days we virtually eliminated the formations of terrorists who tried to destabilize the situation in our country and to hamper the establishment of the new power.

The broad political fervor, the activation of the population at all levels, and the active support expressed for the NSF platform and the support for the reconstruction and renewal of the country is a positive aspect of the revolutionary process and a favorable premise for the future.

The establishment of the NSF councils at all levels in a short time has laid the foundation for the new power bodies which have begun their practical activity.

Certainly, many improvisations were necessary under the given conditions. At the first meeting of the national council with the presidents of the County NSF councils it was decided to proceed to completing the confirmation of the front councils at all levels, from top to bottom, beginning with those in socioeconomic units on the basis of appointing, through free elections, the representatives of all component sectors and of all categories of working people in the front's councils at the level of enterprises, institutions, and similarly to finalize and complete the councils in localities and counties through the confirmation and delegation of all members by the working collectives from the ranks from which they come.

Thus we will ensure, on the one hand, a genuine representative character, and we will grant moral authority to

all those incorporated in the NSF councils, as well as responsibility toward those they represent.

It is important for us to ensure, in all bodies, that the front people with complete moral authority will enjoy the trust of the citizens. We have to avoid the infiltration of accidental elements such as upstarts, careerists, and demagogues, which in moments of confusion and haste try to sneak into leading positions.

We are now entering a new and particularly difficult and complex stage: The constructive stage of the revolution. It is always easier to destroy an old edifice, although this happens sometimes under very complicated conditions and with enormous sacrifices as was the case in our country where the sacrifices of the blood of civilians and the military were particularly great

In any case it is much easier to destroy than to build a new edifice. In this new stage, people who are thorough, have a discerning spirit and are capable of work, who are competent and show spirit of organization are needed. In the coming period we need long-distance runners. In this period the economic matters become extremely pressing and complex. From the very first days, the Council of the NSF and the government adopted a series of measures aimed at improving the supply of the population of food, energy and fuel. A number of laws and decrees affecting the income and the life of the citizens were abrogated. Measures in support of industry were taken, beginning with the lowering and revising of the plan indicators for the first quarter, starting from the real situation regarding the energy and raw material supplies. The quotas of electric power, gas and oil products allotted to the population at the expense of some large consumer sectors will have to be used more efficiently and eliminate energy waste. This evening a number of ministers have already presented the problems facing the national economy concerning these resources and the limitations which confront us.

The newspapers and the TV have presented the measures in support of agriculture and of the citizens of the countryside; measures which will have to lead to an increase in the production of agricultural and food industry as of the current year. Undoubtedly and as it has already been stressed, big problems still remain regarding both the fulfillment of the citizens'needs and the activities of the economic units. The inheritance left to us by the Ceausescu regime, the chaotic, irrational development of the economy, the wasting of great national wealth in costly and inefficient investments, the serious lack of coordination between various branches of industry, and of the economy as a whole represent sources of great difficulties and objective premises for long-term instability. It must be understood that there are no miraculous solutions to these difficult problems, particularly in a very short term. However, provided work is well organized and efficient in any economic unit, units which have now aquired more leeway by being freed from arbitrary interference and recommendations from the political figures, there is a real chance to obtain, in the current year, results clearly superior to those that could have been obtained during Ceausescu's time. To that effect it is, however, vitally important to ensure normal working conditions in all enterprises, in all economic, social, and agricultural units; to ensure an atmosphere of mobilization of all forces in support of material production. We make a heated appeal to all workers, to all technical and economic personnel in industry, transportation and construction, trade and cooperatives, to all farmers to show a high patriotic awareness and human solidarity expressed concretely in work, in a proper progress of production processes and the fulfillment of all contractual commitments both on the internal market as well as for the export market. Any activities liable to disturb and hinder the normal progress of production will be reflected, first of all, in a deterioration of an already complex situation of the economy which will ultimately affect the lives of all of us. Among other things, salaries for January will only be ensured in relation to concrete results obtained at work. The government has taken, however, measures to revise the plan indicators in relation to the real situation; to technical-material supplies in units, energy resources, and the overhaul of certain installations. Other possibilities to ensure the necessary remuneration fund are not available apart from those resulting from the actual results of the economy. Therefore, all political and civic activities must be carried out outside working hours. Nothing must hinder productive activities. In the spirit of the principle adopted within the NSF Platform-Program which will be reflected in the future Constitution, that of the separation of powers within the state, in the case in point the separation of the political and executive, administrative powers, the Front's councils in the enterprises and the local councils must not interfere with the current activities of the technical-administrative management of the enterprises. The latter bears the full material and financial responsibility regarding the activities of the enterprises and it must be helped in order to fulfill its obligations. There can be situations in which the working collectives are dissatisfied with the quality, competence, and moral authority of certain leaders. In these circumstances, the councils of the NSF as representative bodies can appeal to higher authorities so that together they can ensure their replacement by suitable people. It is above all in the interest of the working collectives to have capable and honest leaders. This can, however, be accomplished without hindering the normal progress of production activities. Any demagogical calls to lessen exactingness, work and technological discipline and the observance of the working hours are harmful above all to the working collectives and must be rejected. The NSF councils within the enterprises, as organs which represent the working people, can and must take an active interest in ensuring good work and production progress and in this way exercise public control over the manner in which the leading cadres and the technical-administrative machinery are fulfilling their duties.

However, this must not be done with arbitrary methods, or by issuing orders, or through substitution, but in a constructive fashion, thus facilitating the solution of problems through consensus and active cooperation.

The same holds true for relations between the local councils of the NSF and town halls as local administration bodies which are called upon to deal responsibly with solving tangible problems of the citizens.

The only force on which we may rely in overcoming all difficulties we are confronted with is the unity and cohesion of all of us around the program of restoring and developing a sound basis of the whole economic, social, political, and cultural activity of our society.

The NSF does not want anything else than to provide such a platform, which is open to all, irrespective of political, ideological, religious leanings or options, and irrespective of nationality, in the service of the interests of all, of rescuing the country, and ensuring its future prosperity.

We want to be free from any preconceived ideas, from any ideological or party constraints; we want to think out and formulate solutions for all problems by starting from the realities and requirements of our society.

From this position, we appeal to all our country's citizens to act in a united manner and in close cohesion. We fully trust the active support of our youth, who were the soul and the shock force of the revolution, and who, through their elan and creative potential, have to become one of the propelling forces of the newness and of progress throughout our society.

It is not discord, sectarianism, exclusivism, and narrow-minded party policy what we need now, but unity of thought and action. Only in this manner will we win. We are not allowed to fail. Our failure would give satisfaction to the followers of the dictatorship; it would be the failure of the democracy which is forming. We have to demonstrate that the freed people are capable of greater deeds. Please do not believe alarming rumors aimed at destabilizing the situation. The rumors trying to sow suspicion about the Army lack any grounds. Today I met with a broad group of higher officers from the Army leadership. The Army is with us; it supports the NSF without any reservations. It has been and remains the reliable shield of the people and of the revolution.

With this being said, please permit me to wish many happy returns to all Ioanas and Ions on their name's day. This is to respond to all those who wished me the same on my name's day today.

I wish the whole nation good days and a prosperous year. Let us wish all of us success in our work and confidence in our country's future.

Thank you.

Iliescu Encourages Emigrants To Return

LD0701115390 Hamburg DPA in German 1056 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—The new Romanian State President Ion Iliescu has encouraged the Transylvanian Saxons and the Swabians from the Banat to return to a Romania liberated from the dictator Nicolae Ceausescu. In an interview for tomorrow's edition of the Bonn-based national newspaper DIE WELT, Iliescu announced that the new leadership in Bucharest would "resolutely set out" to create "good conditions" for all social groups and nationalities: "We respect the specific claims of the various minorities. I hope and trust that your compatriots will now step back from their desire to emigrate and that many who have left will return to Romania."

Iliescu said the "positive attitude and the expressions of friendship" by the government and population of the FRG has been noted "with satisfaction." This is the basis for the hope that relations between both sides will develop in a positive manner.

Prime Minister's French TV Interview Reported

LD0701224390 Paris Domestic Service in French 2130 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Text] The new Romanian Prime Minister, Petre Roman, was the guest on Anne Sinclair's "Seven out of Seven" program on TF-1 this evening. Petre Roman believes that the Romanian revolution was produced without the Communist Party and that it has excluded itself from the changes.

[Begin Roman recording] The Communist Party, unfortunately for it, played no role in the revolution, none—either as a party, as a body, or as an idea. So, the Communist Party has excluded itself from the revolution. That is why it finds itself in an impossible position. Now the fact that I was a party member, that Iliescu was a party member, or that there were others who were excluded from the party, what can I say about that? First, I had broken with the party a few days before: When I learned what happened in Timisoara that was the end of me, the party no longer existed for me. I have always been anti-Stalinist, a [word indistinct]. I have Marxist views, I had at the very least Marxist views: Am I still Marxist? I cannot tell you at the moment. There are things in the Marxist analysis which are still useful for everybody as an instrument of analysis, but as far as an ideology it rates a zero. If one takes account what has been the ideology for the socialist countries in general and for Romania, obviously one no longer has the right to speak of that. [end recording]

[Paris Domestic Service in French at 2200 GMT on 7 January adds: "Petre Roman replied to the students who demonstrated in Bucharest this afternoon: The day I feel that this revolution is being taken over by some political force or by a man, I shall no longer be there. He then showed himself to be particularly hard on the French

Communist Party, saying that personally he did not think that the French Communist Party had carried out a complete analysis of its Stalinism."]

Hungarian Minority Forms Group To Reclaim Rights

AU0501180390 Paris AFP in English 1739 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest, Jan 5 (AFP)—Romania's Hungarian minority, stripped of its identity and rights under the Ceausescu regime, has formed a new political party and gone public to demand full rights for the two million-member ethnic group.

The appeal came as the new acting Romanian president, Ion Iliescu, was said to have received an invitation from Budapest to make an official visit to meet Hungary's leaders, according to reliable sources.

The new group is called the Hungarian Democratic Union (HDU), which has chosen as its president Domokos Gheza, a member of the provisional government, the National Salvation Front [NSF].

At a press conference Friday, he laid down the group's goals. It is the first public effort to reverse the long-standing repression, in the new mood of openness that has followed the execution of former dictator Nicolae Ceausescu on Christmas Day.

Mr. Gheza quickly stressed his group's support for the democratic values of the NSF, and said it would probably stand candidates under the NSF in the free elections, expected for next April.

He ruled out any claims of territorial autonomy for the Hungarian minority, which is Romania's biggest, followed by the German and the Yugoslavian minorities.

Much of the Hungarian minority is concentrated in the northwest province of Transylvania, where it represents 40 percent of the population.

But Mr. Gheza said any territorial autonomy claims would not be "realistic" because of the "ethnic mix prevailing throughout the country", with the exception of two counties, Covasna and Harghita in central Romania, where Hungarians account for 80 percent.

Elsewhere, they represent 25 to 50 percent and any autonomy would involve "spoiling or threatening other communities", he said.

Mr. Gheza said his group will work primarily for the restitution of rights taken away under Ceausescu, primarily legal and cultural. This includes the right to run their own schools and universities, radio and television stations and to publish a Hungarian press.

Though one Hungarian-language daily managed to survive under the Ceausescu regime, it was primarily a translation of the official press.

The old Hungarian university at Cluj in Transylvania was also forced to "fuse" with the Romanian university in 1959, and little by little disappeared altogether.

Mr. Gheza said his organization wants the Hungarian language officially accepted—and used—alongside Romanian by the administration in regions with a Hungarian minority.

They also want the names of villages and towns whose Hungarian names were changed under the Communists to revert to the old appellation. He singled out Cluj, one of the country's biggest cities, whose old name is Kolosvar.

Mr. Gheza was optimistic, and stressed that during the fighting in Timisoara that touched off the national uprising Romanians fought side by side.

Free Peasants Party on Platform-Program

AU0601124490 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0904 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Report on "platform-program" issued by the Democratic Union of Free Peasants, read by Aurel Stirbu, president of the Provisional Democratic Committee of the Union of Free Peasants—date and place not given]

[Text] [Announcer] Dear listeners, in the context of general concerns to organize the new structures of the Romanian society, Mr Aurel Stirbu, president of the Provisional Committee of the Democratic Union of Free Peasants of Romania, is going to speak about the restructuring, on democratic bases, of the Agricultural Cooperative Unions, which have to become genuine representative bodies defending the interests of the peasantry. Here you are.

[Stirbu] Dear agricultural workers, I will present the platform-program of the Provisional Committee of the Democratic Union of Free Peasants of Romania, which incorporates numerous tangible points as follows:

1. The goal of the Union of Free Peasants of Romania, as a democratic representative organization of agricultural cooperatives, of cooperative members and small-scale producers, is to diversify the form of organization in order to increase yields and productivity in agriculture; to ensure an improvement in the standard of living of the peasantry and the whole nation; and the development of the Romanian village by preserving ancestral customs, habits, and traditions.

2. In relations with the power and state administration bodies, the Union, on the basis of the mandate bestowed on it, represents and defends the interests of agricultural cooperatives, of cooperative members, and of small-scale agricultural producers in conformity with the requirements of the process of renewal and democratization in Romania. It will cooperate with the technical and economic institutions and organizations in the area of economic, production, social, and political relations.

3. In the process of restructuring agriculture on democratic bases, the Union will militate to ensure the economic independence of owners; the development of agricultural production in accordance with the [word indistinct] zones of the country and the sale of products through trade outlets and under efficient conditions; the reconsideration of the role and place of small-scale farms; an increase in the privately-owned plots of land for [word indistinct] and construction purposes, and of plots of land used to ensure the development of farmers' households; the production of vegetables and fruits, and the breeding of an increasingly greater number of animals and poultry; an improvement in the standard of living of the peasantry, and the prosperity of the Romanian state; the diversification of the forms of association of peasants, including within the framework of agricultural production cooperatives, the development of the small-scale industry and of services to the rural population; and the processing and industrialization of certain agricultural produce and their direct utilization by the consumers.

4. Ensuring the right of cooperative units and of small-scale producers to purchase tractors, machinery, and other equipment in order to mechanize agricultural operation and to industrialize the produce they harvest.

5. Cancellation of debts created as a result of the unjust policy of prices and tariffs for agricultural cooperative units. The creation of a bank of its own—that is, to ensure credits, finances, and aid for units and the peasantry. Broadening the aid system and material base of units both in terms of money and in kind. Financial management control should be carried out by the bodies of the agricultural cooperative units and by their unions.

6. Ensuring a monthly remuneration for cooperative farmers on the basis of outputs and incomes achieved, so as to constantly improve their standard of living and guarantee them a dignified life.

7. Radically improving the pension and social rights system for the peasantry; eliminating the existing discriminatory system and establishing the rights for pensions and social security at the same level as those of workers in the state agricultural units. Taking over from the Ministry of Labor the activities and funds designed for granting pensions and other rights to the peasantry, and establishming an autonomous system of pensions for the peasantry as this was formerly the case. The operation of nurseries and kindergartens in all agricultural cooperative units for the children of cooperative members and of the other village residents. The development and diversification of the activity of units in charge of treatment in health resorts, and of the recreation of cooperative members, which should benefit the entire free peasantry in Romanian.

8. The unions of the free peasantry in Romania shall act to improve the whole activity of shaping, training, and of perfecting agricultural cadres, to reorganize the whole system of professional training, secondary agricultural schools, and to set up a central institution that will ensure the finessing of professional training, the reopening of the houses of agronomists in each county, and proper facilities for them. Preservation of our ancestral folklore traditions, habits, and customs; reorganization and resumption of the activity of cultural houses, libraries, and of the other cultural establishments in villages on new bases and by ensuring the material base they need.

9. Abrogation of the statutes of the agricultural production cooperative, of intercooperative associations and their replacement with their own statutes based on genuinely democratic principles.

10. [Word indistinct] of agricultural production cooperatives, which were unified by violating the desire of cooperative members by the dictatorial regime.

11. The Democratic Committees of the Unions of Free Peasants of Romania will support the preparation and progress—in the first quarter of 1990—of general meetings of agricultural production cooperatives, intercooperative economic associations, of county conferences, and the congress of cooperative farmers and small-scale producers which is to adopt its own statutes, democratically elect the leadership bodies, and which is to endorse the measures aimed at developing agricultural production in 1990 and in the future.

12. The Union of Free Peasants in Romania adheres to the international cooperative organizations, develops and maintains relations with agricultural cooperative organizations in other countries, organizes mutual assistance and exchanges of delegations, including peasants' holidays on a mutual basis.

13. The Union of Free Peasants in Romania has legal initiative in all areas regarding the activity of the cooperative agricultural sectors and small-scale producers and the right to endorse all normative acts regarding agricultural cooperative, cooperative members, and small-scale producers.

The Provisional Democratic Committee of the Union of Free Peasants will initiate measures to abrogate and replace laws, decrees, and other normative acts of both the national union and of the state power bodies issued during the dictator's period.

14. The Union of Free Peasants of Romania organizes the activity of judicial assistance both for agricultural cooperative units and for cooperative members, and small-scale agricultural producers.

15. The Union of Free Peasants of Romania has its own press organ, issues publications, and other agricultural propaganda materials.

16. The Union of Free Peasants of Romania and the county unions have judicial status and have their own patrimony guaranteed by Romania's Constitution.

17. The name of the union is Democratic Union of Free Peasants of Romania.

18. Agricultural production cooperatives and the Democratic Unions of the Peasants have the right to nominate candidates to be elected to the state power bodies at all levels: commune, county, and countrywide.

19. The Democratic Union of Free Peasants of Romania militates to become plan holder with its own supply and technical-material base and its own sales of produce, including export relations and exchanges with organizations in other countries.

The Provisional Democratic Committee of the Union of Free Peasants of Romania renews the appeal to all peasantry to adhere to this platform-program and to ensure the continuous progress of all economic and productive activities and a greater contribution to ensuring proper supplies for the population, thus participating in the achievement of the targets included in the platform of the NSF [National Salvation Front].

The presented platform-program is provisional and, therefore, we await proposals to improve it.

[Announcer] Thank you.

National Christian Peasant Democratic Party March

AU0701160990 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1500 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Text] A commemorative march organized by the National Christian Peasant Democratic Party took place between University Square and Romana Square in Bucharest today. This was devoted to the thousands of National Peasant Party members who died in the prisons of dictatorships which usurped state power in Romania since February 1938 and until December 1989, and to the young people—students, workers, intellectuals and soldiers, men and women—who carried out the Romanian revolution of December 1989. Through this revolution the Romanian people put an end once and for all to the totalitarian, dictatorial regimes.

Food Rationing Continues in Some Regions

AU0601125190 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0800 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Text] Through numerous telephone appeals received by our editorial office from various towns, including Hunedoara, Sfintul Gheorghe, and Pitesti, we have been informed that the rationing of foodstuffs in the trade network continues in the country.

We approached the Initiative Committee of the National Salvation Front and it confirmed this situation, explaining that it is due to conditions which have made it difficult to ensure sufficient quantities of appropriate supplies for the entire population due to abundant snowfall, disorganization, and inadequate transportation.

The rationing of foodstuffs will be maintained, so that all people will be able to buy the minimum foodstuffs needed. We have been assured that this situation will not last long and that it will be settled in the shortest time possible.

Duvno Demonstration Ends in Vandalism

LD0501205590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1852 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Duvno, 5 Jan (TANJUG)—A protest meeting in Duvno, which was accompanied by ecological demands from the approximately 5,000 assembled inhabitants of this municipality who are opposed to the construction of an accelerator in the cable factory, and now and again had nationalistic characteristics, ended late in the afternoon.

Those gathered dispersed only when demolition of the accelerator housing began. Right at the end of the protest meeting, individuals vented their anger, smashing windows in the buildings of municipal socio-political organizations.

Serbs, Montenegrins Demonstrate in Urosevac

LD0601114390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2219 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Urosevac, 5 Jan (TANJUG)—A protest meeting of about 1,000 Serbs and Montenegrins was held in Urosevac today, at which calls were made for questioning the loyalty of citizens who have emigrated from Albania, for Yugoslavia's archives to be opened, and for the adoption as soon as possible of a law on the use of languages and flags of the nationalities. The meeting was organized by the association for the return of emigre Serbs and Montenegrins, "Better Future." Taking part in its work were Cvitko Krunic, executive secretary of the Serbian League of communists [LC] Central Committee; Dr Jagos Zelenic, member of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium; Milomir Kovacevic, member of the Kosovo Socialist Alliance of Working People Provincial Conference; a delegation of the asociation for the return of emigre Serbs, "Bozur," from Kosovo Polje; and all the leaders of Urosevac socio-political organizations.

In the debate it was said that separatists and Albanian nationalists are continuing to operate freely, and the greatest fury was vented against the behavior of representatives of the judicial organs and organs of the militia. Calls were made for the irrevocable resignation of the present secretary for internal affairs, Milorad Stankovic, and the president of the municipal court, Rifat Abdulahu. [passage omitted]

Serbian Call for Slovene Blockade 'Criminal Act'

LD0401141790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1230 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 4 Jan (TANJUG)—The Slovene Chamber of Economy today registered an application with the competent prosecutor in Ljubljana for charges to be brought against Radmila Andjelkovic, president of the Serbian Socialist Alliance of Working People Republican Conference, and Dr Mihajlo Milojevic, president of the Serbian Chamber of Economy, for calling for an economic blockade of Slovenia by Serbia. It is considered in the Slovene Chamber of Economy that the call for the blockade is a criminal act under Article 161 of the SFRY criminal law. The proposal for charges to be brought was made at the end of the last year by the assembly of the Slovene Chamber of Economy. According to the vice president of the chamber, Dr Rade Bohinc, Radmila Andjelkovic and Dr Mihajlo Milojevic "in calling for the blockade were committing a criminal act punishable in accordance with our legislature."

Serbian Firms Break Business Ties With Slovenia

AU0701203490 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Dec 89 p 5

[V. S. report: "Damage at Unfavorable Time"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 21 Dec—According to the data (still incomplete) collected so far, 329 Serbian work organizations have unilaterally broke off their business relations with Slovene firms. Breaks were mainly made in the following branches: the production of electrical machines and devices (38); the production of textiles (29); the production of consumer goods (37); the processing of chemical products (30); furniture making (24); and machine processing activities (23).

The Chamber of Economy said that the damage caused by the break in relations has not been assessed yet, but that it can already be said that it will be considerable. Slovene firms believe that the loss resulting from the break in relations with Serbian firms has happened at the least favorable time, but that they can make it up within 1 year. They think that they can make up losses through sales in Slovenia, other republics, exports, and changes of certain import regulations.

Cooperation has not completely stopped. For instance, Serbian firms are still selling goods to Slovene firms because they are good customers. The same applies to export businesses. For example, the Centrotekstil has not broken off its ties with the Alpina in the sense that it is still selling Alpina's products in the USSR, but it has broken off its ties in the sense that it is no longer selling Alpina's products in Serbia.

According to the data of the Chamber of Economy, Slovene firms are owed 696,781,605 dinars by Serbian firms, while their liabilities are only 2,954,278 dinars.

Kadijevic Speaks on Crisis, Reform

AU0501202990 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Dec 89 pp 5, 6

["Excerpts" of speech by General Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense, at joint session of Military Council and Presidium of the Committee of Organization of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in the Yugoslav People's Army; date and place not given: "For a Stable Yugoslavia and Strong Defense"]

[Text] As we stressed a long time ago, the basic causes of our crisis are to be found in major errors in the system, some of which have their basis in the SFRY Constitution. Much of what is now happening—the upsurge of nationalism to the point of madness, the creation of various prerequisites for breaking up Yugoslavia, conflicts in leaderships which manifest themselves in the form of the crudest quarrels with a great deal of hatred, hyperinflation, and the inefficiency of the federal state and its organs—is the consequence of the basic causes. Therefore, confusion between the causes and the consequences cannot be allowed. The consequences should be energetically eliminated and stopped, but only as an essential prerequisite for the real and more difficult work of eliminating the crisis' basic causes. The first, therefore, cannot be a substitute for the second because if we were to accept this, we would find ourselves in an even more serious situation.

Adequate Responses to This Historic Moment's Challenges

The Yugoslav People's Army, and particularly its cadre and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in the Yugoslav People's Army, must respond in an adequate way to the specific and concrete challenges of this historic moment. This response must be in line with the historic place and role that it has had in the victory of the socialist revolution and socialist construction and defense of the country, in line with its revolutionary, populist, and Yugoslav character and in line with its role established by the SFRY Constitution in the defense of the country's territorial integrity and social order. We have always, both in Tito's time and after him, proceeded from these challenges so we will also do this in the future in a way that is suitable for the demands of the time that is before us. In this respect, now as up to now, we want to very clearly confirm two things:

There can be no discussion whatsoever of the Armed Forces' tasks in the country's defense as defined by the SFRY Constitution and federal laws, nor any doubt in their willingness and ability to efficiently carry out these tasks in the way that is set down precisely in the SFRY Constitution and the Law on National Defense;

All our stands on the content of the social reforms are subject to public scrutiny. We are not asking for any privileged treatment for them at all. Not only are our stands and proposals on reforms in Yugoslavia—some of which have only just begun (economic) and some have not even begun (social)—open to public criticism but in fact the majority of tasks in the Army's development are subject to public scrutiny. Those who try to scare us with public criticism are deceiving themselves. We are quite aware of the fact that our work is subject to public scrutiny and we are aware of this scrutiny's usefulness. Moreover, we are not in the least alarmed when, lacking arguments, some critics use obvious and even crude deceits, untruths, and falsifications. This only shows the orientation or most often the range—both intellectual and other types—of such critics. We do want our stands to be applauded by anti-Communists, nationalists, and all other destroyers of Yugoslavia or certain self-styled ideological and political majorities which are so "clever and stable" that it would be difficult to count how many times they have so far changed their ideological and political colors. On the contrary, their applause would definitely be a sign that we are greatly mistaken. I think that all those who are really fighting for a federal Yugoslavia and for socialism must be aware of this and behave accordingly. Unfortunately, this is not the case at the moment.

Every Stand of the Army Is Based on Clear Elements

We cannot and will not be hindered in the struggle for our stands by "arguments" that are not our stands. Claims that our stands correspond more with the stands of one republic and less with those of another, that we want to be neutral, that we are "playing tactical games," and even that we will impose too much Yugoslavism, or that we have to take a pubic stand as soon as possible on every opinion that comes from one community or another, are not arguments at all but arbitrary and incorrect denigrations. Each of our stands has a clear point, so any serious criticism should show their value or their mistakes using arguments. Denigrations instead of arguments are proof of the critics' impotence. The aim of these criticisms is obvious—it is to undermine and compromise the Yugoslav orientation of the Yugoslav People's Army or to silence it. All these critics can be quite sure that neither of these will be achieved.

Some people warn us that we do not or will not see the essence of some of the latest maneuvers. I can tell them that they are very much mistaken. We see all maneuvers—of which there are unfortunately many—clearly, including old and newer invitations to the foreign factor to arrange the sorting out of circumstances in Yugoslavia. We will resolutely and uncompromisingly oppose any maneuver that is directed against Yugoslavia and socialism in Yugoslavia. The domestic issues of the state and social structure will be resolved by this country's peoples themselves without any outside influence, regardless of who invokes this influence, on what occasion, and what kind of disguise it is wrapped in.

The new SFRY Constitution should, in its entirety, more precisely express Yugoslavia as a unified federal and self-managing socialist community of all working people and citizens and equal peoples and nationalities who live in it. Therefore, the SFRY Constitution should be the highest political and legal document. The constitutions of the republics must be in line with the SFRY Constitution. The view is unacceptable that gives precedence to the constitutions of the republics, according to which these constitutions should be adopted first and then the SFRY Constitution, and the contents of the SFRY Constitution should depend on the constitutions of the republics. This would obviously put the SFRY into the position of a confederation, which would be at variance with the decisions of AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] and the interests of

the survival and successful development of Yugoslavia as a whole. After all, this state of affairs did not exist at the time the decisions of the second sitting of AVNOJ were made, nor do these very precise decisions allow for or indicate this.

Thorough, Comprehensive, and Temporally Coordinated Reforms

As well as having to be thorough and comprehensive, we believe that the reforms should also be coordinated as much as possible from the point of view of time because they are conditional and depend on each other. The best example of this are the results achieved by the reform moves of the Federal Executive Council in the field of business operations. If in parallel with the economic program of the Federal Executive Council, a program of state reform were to be implemented as a complete program of reforms for the whole political system, only then would the results be real ones, that is to say, only then would it be possible to objectively assess each program, even the program of economic reforms. We think that it is essential and realistically possible for this temporal coordination to be achieved. Therefore, we energetically advocate even better, more active, and more constructive preparations for the 14th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and we are against it being postponed further; we also support an intensification of all activities in working out a new SFRY Constitution. The time is relatively short. However, the obvious maneuver cannot be accepted which, by looking for support for a short time period, tries to, in fact, make the essential changes impossible. It should be borne in mind that we have wasted time in a way that were it to continue would never lead to positive results.

We support the reforms of the socioeconomic system which the Federal Executive Council is working on, but we advocate that they be carried out thoroughly and that systemic and legal instruments be provided for them to be implemented efficiently; that means that we advocate the state's simultaneous reform as an essential prerequisite for the economic reform. Economic reform cannot succeed without an adequate role for the state and in fact the kind of role that states with modern market economies have. Our federal state not only does not have this role but, objectively speaking, it is also faced with financial collapse. This simply will not be able to continue.

Equal Treatment of All Forms of Ownership

In the field of the reforms of the socioeconomic system, we particularly emphasize the following:

Primary importance should be given to all forms of motivation as the cornerstone of efficient business operations, particularly profits for success but also losses for failure which can only be checked on the market;

The equal treatment of all forms of ownership as regards economic operations and efficiency criteria. Under these conditions, social ownership, with self-management as the production relation and an important motivational factor, should prove its values and advantages, if it really has any. The competition of ownership relations will give answers to many fundamental questions in the socioeconomic system;

A unified Yugoslav business area requires a unified mechanism for its economic direction (a credit-monetary, fiscal, foreign trade, and foreign currency mechanism);

It is essential to organize the functioning of the large economic systems (post office and telecommunications, communications, and energy generation) in a new way so as to ensure that they are completely unified, which is not only an economic but also a defense interest of the country.

Of course, an important prerequisite for not only the economic but all other reforms as well is to halt and curb inflation. Everyone should work more constructively and collaborate on this task in practical terms and politicize less a problem which is already too difficult, objectively speaking. Everyone bears their share of responsibility in this. It seems to us in the Army that despite all the measures that are being taken in the struggle against inflation, two key elements—prices and personal incomes—must be more suitably treated according to the present conditions of business operations.

Finally, it must be clear to all of us that only success leads to progress. Therefore, all those who are really fighting for a democratic, federal, and socialist Yugoslavia must, among other things, behave in an extremely responsible way.

Government Officials Explain New Dinar Values

AU0801115790 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Dec 89 p 8

[Unattributed report: "Measures of the Federal Executive Council Scrap 150,000 Work Places"]

[Excerpts] At yesterday's news conference held by Bozidar Marendic, federal secretary for development, Nazmi Mustafa, federal secretary for the market and prices, and Dusan Vlatkovic, governor of the National Bank of Yugoslavia, Yugoslav and foreign journalists expressed the most interest in the details and technical realization of the federal government's new measures. Replying to questions regarding this, the federal organs' representatives presented several interesting details which throw more light on what the Federal Executive Council has proposed.

How Will Money Be Changed?

All old bank notes, which should be withdrawn from circulation by the end of next year, will be exchanged for new ones. This concerns both notes and coins. Notes will be printed in values of 10, 20, 50, 100, 200, 500, and 1,000 dinars. New coins will be minted in values of 10,

20, and 50 paras and 1, 2, and 5 dinars. Some of the smaller coins should appear soon, while the notes will gradually appear over the next year. In practical terms, payments can be made using both new and old money, particularly as their value will amount to a ratio of 1 convertible dinar for 10,000 of the present dinars, or 7 dinars for 1 DM, or 12 dinars for $1. [passage omitted]

When Will Dinar's New Face Value Come Into Effect?

The law on changing the dinar's value envisages that its new face value will come into effect on 1 January 1990. On that day, 10,000 of the present dinars will be equal to 1 convertible dinar.

Dinar's Fixed Exchange Rate

The Yugoslav dinar's exchange rate is fixed today so that 1 DM can be exchanged for 70,000 dinars. This exchange rate has been frozen as of today and will be retained until 1 January, when the practical transfer to using the new dinars and the new system of money is envisaged.

IMF Did Not Influence the Program

The IMF and its mission in Yugoslavia did not impose any conditions with regard to putting the federal government's program into operation. This is a Yugoslav program which should ensure that we will extricate ourselves from the crisis in 4 to 5 years. [passage omitted]

Drnovsek New Year Message Published

LD0101183290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1710 GMT 1 Jan 90

[Text] Sarajevo, Jan 1 (TANJUG)—The turbulent events in Eastern Europe, the reforms and the even more radical demands of the people were caused by the prolonged stagnation and survival of a model of social order which has proven to be economically inefficient and politically and ideologically limited Yugoslav President Janez Drnovsek said in the New Year's issue of the Sarajevo paper OSLOBODJENJE.

It emerged that ideological doping and repressive means cannot forever replace economic efficacity and individual human rights, the collective estate presidency president said [words indistinct] what kind of Yugoslavia is possible.

In order to overcome similar problems in Yugoslavia, all its republics and provinces should hold unprejudiced and open talks about the essence of the development programs and ways for emerging out of the crisis, Drnovsek said.

He [words indistinct] retreat into history and the closing off into national boundaries are contrary to the prevailing trends in Europe, which is rapidly nearing a supra-national integration.

Drnovsek said that Yugoslavia should aim to create an economically efficient and democratic society which will focus on individual human rights and freedoms.

'Polemic' Slovene Central Committee Debate

LD1612202789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2146 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 15 Dec (TANJUG)—At what was probably the penultimate session of the Slovene League of Communists [LC] Central Committee in its present composition, dedicated to the commitments in the program, the inevitable debate on the current developments in Slovenia and Yugoslavia was, as one could expect, a polemic one. This refers primarily to the "latest" move of the united opposition of Slovenia, the statement of the "Council for the Constitution," the somewhat older dispute between Slovenia and Serbia, and the ever-topical issue of relations within the federation, which nearly overshadowed, at least at the beginning of the session, the debate on the document "For a European Quality of Life." There was, however, a heated debate on the program itself, the tone of which was set, as at previous sessions, by Vinko Hafner.

Noting that the commission for the preparation of the program document had not taken into consideration some of his comments presented at the last session, Vinko Hafner asked again whether the LC, transformed according to this program, would change its name into socialist party or some other similar political party? He himself spoke in favor of continuity and opposed the idea of changing the name of the Slovene LC and was irritated by the fact that in the presented document there is not a single mention of the working class as though it does not exist at all. Hafner is committed, as he says, to Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia [AVNOJ]-based Yugoslavia and is against mentioning the idea of asymmetric federation and confederation in the program document. He also disapproves of the proposal that communists in the Yugoslav Peoples' Army liaise with local LC organizations and of the fact that the program document of the Slovene LC pronounces its attitudes toward the status of the socialist autonomous provinces in the federal organs.

Countering Hafner, Stojan Kokosar supported the whole of the draft document and, without doubting that the congress would adopt it, expressed his scepticism regarding its implementation. He explained this view by assessing that in Yugoslavia there are obviously two differing concepts for the country's political and economic development of which the Slovene one is isolated and constitutes a minority. As for the status of Slovenia in the federation, Kokosar champions "the tougher" stand as he advocates "more radical and concrete moves."

Stressing that he, as a businessman, is obsessed with the issue of Slovenia's economic sovereignty, and is particularly inspired by "the latest insane moves by the Serbia regime," Kokosar maintained that the further robbery of

the Slovenian economy should be prevented, the federation financed on the basis of the services actually carried out, the fund for the underdeveloped abolished and transformed along economic foundations, and a national currency introduced. [passage omitted: Bozidar Pahor says young Slovene Communists support all those in Yugoslavia who demand free elections, a multiparty system, freedom of poitical association, and the observance of human rights]

As expected, the move by the united opposition, "Demos," and yesterday's ultimatum to the assembly, public, Presidium of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Slovenia by the "Council for the Constitution" was also on the agenda. Janez Kocijancic opened the debate, saying that he was against ultimatums of any kind. He did not accept the opposition's stands that the new Slovenia should be built from scratch, so to speak, and advocated the principle of continuity. He maintained that constitutional and legal mainstays should be raised on the achievments of the past, the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Concil of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia], the 1974 Constitution, and the constitutional amendments. If we renounce these, we may find ourselves at an even worse starting point, Kocijancic said. Kocijancic likened the opposition's attempt to "deny the legitimacy of the Slovenian SR Assembly, Presidency, and other top organs" to "the militant theories of the current Serbian policy." In his opinion, there was no reason for Slovenia to try to emulate "the Eastern European model of disintegration of society and its institutions." Kocijancic then quoted some parts of yesterday's appeal by the "Council for the Constitution" and reiterated that the Council feared an imposed constitutional monopoly while, in fact, it imposed its own political will based on "very doubtfully legitimate foundations." Once the LC has terminated its monopoly, it also has to terminate the rest of the monopolies, Kocijancic said, adding that there was a resemblance between the LC's presumptive vanguard role, which has inflicted great damage to its organizations, and the presumptive democratism heralded by the united opposition. [passage omitted: Kocijancic believed that a great number of ex-communists in the united opposition account for much of its narcissism; Milan Potrc calls for normal work within existing institutions until the elections, which should reflect the differing views and interests in Slovenia; discussion of Slovene LC's social base]

The Central Committee approved the draft program document, with the proviso that everything not accepted by the commission for the preparation of the Congress and the LC be placed before delegates as amendments. Two separate resolutions will be proposed to the congress: A separate resolution of the Maribor party organization on the economic development of this industrial center and a resolution on the development of Slovenia' interior, outside the industrial centers.

The Central Committee approved the proposed lists for organs of the Slovene LC Central Committee and the League of Communists [LCY] Central Committee, and the list of delegates for the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress.

The proposal of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium that Franci Pivec be removed from the list of candidates for President of the Slovene LC Central Committee was approved, so that at the moment Dr Ciril Ribicic and Boris Muzevic are on the list. Sonja Lokar remains the sole candidate for secretary of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium after Uros Dular dropped out. The Central Committee also approved a report on the work of the Slovene LC Central Committee between the two congresses, the draft statute of the Slovene LC, as well as the rulebook for the 11th Slovene LC Congress.

Slovene LC Responds to Calls for Referendum

LD1612214689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2351 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 15 Dec (TANJUG)—The Constitution, the basic legal document of society which determines the position of the individual and the Slovene nation and the citizens of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Slovenia, should be written in a principled, considered, argued, and democratic manner without ultimatums from anyone—not the Serbian state organs, as confirmed by the introductory report at the Serbian League of Communists [LC] Congress, nor a section of the Slovene political opposition," was the view of the Slovene LC Central Committee session held in connection with the latest statements by the "Council for the Constitution."

The Slovene LC Central Committee considers that the undermining of the legitimacy of the Slovene Assembly essentially constitutes support for those forces in Yugoslavia which have been trying for several years to halt the democratic processes in Slovenia and to swiftly remove their most eminent exponents and bring into question the legitimacy of the amendments to the Slovene Constitution. It is precisely these amendments which make possible the activity of new political organizations. The Slovene LC Central Committee thinks the raising of the pressures to the level of ultimatums to local and legitimate Slovene state organs, the assembly, and the presidency of the SR of Slovenia constitutes a transparent attempt to mislead the public. The impression is created that a part of the Slovene political opposition wants to gain a majority voice in the assembly by means of free elections.

Instead of this, the Slovene LC Central Committee suggests an argued discussion on individual relevant initiatives from both the aforementioned statements, especially on the question of what can be done before the elections to safeguard reforms in Yugoslavia and in Slovenia. If a section of the Slovene political opposition persists with its stand that the legitimacy of the Slovene Assembly is questionable, then the Slovene LC proposes the holding of free elections as soon as the law on elections is adopted rather than a referendum since these

are the only internationally recognized democratic means of ensuring the legitimacy of government.

Slovene Opposition Rejects Constitutional Changes

LD1612220189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1738 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 16 December (TANJUG)—The Democratic Opposition of Slovenia (DEMOS) has appealed to the delegates of the Assembly of the Soviet Republic of Slovenia to reject any changes to the Federal Constitution, or even the very proposal to make such changes. Any change to the constitutional system of the federation, DEMOS believes, can only be considered after the adoption of a completely new Slovene Constitution, and here these changes should ensure a confederative set-up in Yugoslavia.

The Democratic Opposition, the appeal stresses, is shocked and embittered by the intention of the Federal Executive Council to propose changing the SFRY Constitution in some kind of rapid procedure—which would be completely unconstitutional. The proposal was prepared in secret, which, it is stressed, is unprecedented and is reminiscent, both in terms of method and content, of an "imposed constitution". According to available information, these changes favour the centralization of Yugoslavia in the field of the economy, human rights, and in other areas. It is in this way that Slovenia will be deprived of the little autonomy it has.

The Democratic Opposition is very concerned by the half-heartedness and objectionable stances of the Slovene leadership vis a vis "this attack on Slovene sovereignty."

Such centralization of Yugoslavia will not only threaten the sovereignty of the Slovene people and their development, but it will also mean the ending of the Slovene spring—in other words the development of democratic processes in Slovenia. This would also mean the negation of the right of the Slovene people to self-determination, who in this way will not have any more opportunities "to write their own future".

Hence DEMOS appeals to the Slovene Assembly and the state leadership to understand the seriousness of these threats and firmly reject all attempts to change the federal constitution. This also requires of them amendments to the Slovene Constitution, which guarantees the self-determination of the Slovene people and the protection of their vital interests.

This "appeal" was also sent by DEMOS to the president of the Republican Assembly, accompanied by the demand that it be read at the assembly prior to decisions being reached on the proposal to change the Federal Constitution. If the assembly respects the appeal and rejects such proposals and persists firmly in this, then DEMOS as a whole supports it and accepts coresponsibility for such a decision.

Slovene Assembly Approves Economic Plan

LD2112074589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2024 GMT 19 Dec 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 19 Dec (TANJUG)—Delegates of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia in principle support the economic reform program and measures for its realization in 1990, proposed by the Federal Executive Council [FEC].

Endorsing the FEC proposal, delegates from all three chambers believe that the program could be realized only in the conditions of a consistent respect for constitutionality and legality, as well as in an atmosphere of reason and confidence in the program proponents.

At today's session, delegates from this republican Assembly established that the main orientations of the program were in accordance with the orientations which this Assembly had already demanded many times. This primarily refers to the orientation for the convertible dinar and an essential deregulation in economic relations with foreign countries which provide bases for greater and more equitable participation in international exchange. Then, there is also a strict division between all forms of expenditure, also between the federal budget and business activity which becomes responsible exclusively for the stability of the currency and payments towards foreign countries, while any possibility of inflationary financing of exports to clearing-free areas, selective credits, federal budgets and the like is eliminated.

This also refers to a realistic way of determining all dubious accounts in funds and their covering exclusively from realistic sources within the federal budget.

Delegates also concluded that the FEC program was accompanied by some questions impossible to answer at this juncture. This primarily refers to the questions of real readiness to realize the program in Yugoslavia, the impossibility to assess the consistency of the program, its realistic nature and, first of all, the realistic character of all envisaged effects of the program. It was also established that the SFRY Assembly, the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia, and its Executive Council must regularly monitor all effects of the realization of the program. In cases of departure from the program, it is necessary to immediately adopt measures so that all of the program's set aims would be consistently implemented.

Delegates of the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia propose that during the adoption procedure of the program of measures in the SFRY Assembly, full openness and supervision of all elements of its implementation should be ensured, as well as of all effects of the program. At the same time it is said that full control should primarily be ensured over all federal funds and its organs so that any overflowing of income outside the agreed framework can be prevented.

The adoption and implementation of the proposed FEC program is the last chance for Yugoslavia to formulate

joint starting points for dealing with the Yugoslav crisis within the framework of the system's institutions and existing relations.

Delegates were unanimous in the stand that the proposed changes to the SFRY Constitution should be dismissed after a debate in appropriate bodies of the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia. At the same time, it was proposed that it should be necessary to prepare proposals for additional changes to the SFRY Constitution which should ensure a faster affirmation of economic and political changes, as well as the sovereignty of the republics in the direction of an economic and political democracy.

Slovenia Says FEC Report on Ljubljana 'Biased'

LD2312200389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2101 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Ljubljana, 21 Dec (TANJUG)—The report the Federal Executive Council [FEC] has submitted to the delegates in the Federal Chamber of the Yugoslav Assembly on the events linked to the announced, banned and cancelled rally of truth in Ljubljana is not objective; it is biased. This is how the FEC's report was assessed at today's session of the Republican Executive Council of Slovenia.

The report, it was announced, intends to distribute the blame in an unjust way for the ensuing situation between Slovena and Serbia. It is however clear that by the measures it adopted, Slovenia effectively protected public peace in accordance with the constitution and law. In the Socialist Republic [SR] of Serbia, however, the Presidium of the Serbian Socialist Alliance of Working People Republican Conference called for the boycott of Slovenia. This political appeal was supported by Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia, and the Serbian Assembly. It is obvious, the statement from the session resumes, that the blockade constitutes a breach of the SFRY Constitution. [passage omitted]

Reportage on 11th Slovene LC Congress

Preparations Noted

AU2012155789 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1430 GMT 20 Dec 89

[Text] The course and the starting points of the 11th Congress of the League of Communists of Slovenia were presented at a press conference in the Slovene Central Committee building today. The congress will open on Friday [22 Dec] in Cankar Hall and is expected to conclude on Saturday. It is to be attended by 409 delegates and 260 guests. The congress will meet in plenary sessions and in four commissions.

The four commissions will not be classified by subjects, so that the delegates will be able to discuss all the current questions in all four of them. Most attention will be devoted to the program document entitled, Europe Now, and to the role of the League of Communists in radical social reforms. At the same time, the congress will adopt stands on the basic problems in the federation, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and especially the pressure exerted against Slovenia in the past period.

Kucan Opens Congress

LD2312232989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0810 GMT 22 Dec 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 22 Dec (TANJUG)—The Slovene League of Communists [LC] comes to its 11th Congress as the only communist party in power which, without pressure from and the mass anger of its fellow citizens, opted for political pluralism and announced democratic elections, Milan Kucan president of the Slovene LC Central Committee, stressed in his introductory report.

According to him, this is a logical outcome of a thought-process which has been maturing since the 10th congress, and, in particular, since last year's conference. Today when it is quite obvious that real socialism, irrespective of differences among various countries, yields similar results—and the result is their own collapse—it is also obvious that socialism in Slovenia has better future prospects than socialisms in environments in Europe where tanks have supressed the wish for freedom, and humane and civil dignity in blood.

The main goal proposed by us, and which we will not give up at any price, is implementing the announced democratic free and honest elections, Milan Kucan said. Through them we shall make a step from the usual liberalization of socialism toward the creation of a democratic order. With a democratic order, the price of turning back the clock would be outside the reach of those who wish to do so. Kucan said that setting up a democratic order, and not a ritual and almost worthless changes of names and symbols, confirms to oneself and others that changes within one's own republic are taken seriously. With this democratic model and not with pressures and threats, democracy will be put on the historical agenda in Yugoslavia.

When the elected delegates [those to be elected in free elections] take up their assembly posts, the Socialist Republic [SR] of Slovenia's confidence will become important for both the state and democracy, Kucan said. Of course, it is clear that we can lose the elections. But precisely the willingness to implement democratic elections, which involve the possibility of a defeat, is a victory for the Slovene LC. At this moment, when the apparently unoustable authoritarian regimes of countries with real socialism are collapsing overnight and in sequence, the Slovene LC knew how to stimulate and affirm a clear thinking and a resolute act of a peaceful transition from political monopoly to pluralistic democracy.

Kucan stressed that the possibility for the peaceful testing of one's own legitimacy by the democratic means

of a law-governed state does not represent any expectation of parting ways with everything that has happened in the past. However, it is worth the risk that elections can also be a statement on the previous unsuccessful policies and not on what the LC is offering as a development program for Slovene society. It is also worth the risk that the elections will be above all a decision against the long out-of-date Cominform practice of Communists in our country which makes Slovenes fear a united opposition, rather than a vote for something else, Kucan assessed.

For us it is important that at the elections a majority is won by those political forces which are exponents of new thinking on the socialist sociodevelopmental orientation in Slovenia. It is clear, Kucan continued, that the aim of the Slovene LC is to win as many votes as possible with the program which is adopted at this congress and with the people who have made this program possible, important, and convincing, and, together with everyone else who at least has a goal similar to ours, to actively open the way for creating a pleasant society of democratic socialism.

"Our orientation is without a doubt toward Yugoslavia as a voluntary state of equal republics of free and equal nations, a democratic community of free citizens which measures its socialist content and existence by the criteria of the European quality of life," stressed Milan Kucan. "We do not agree with the claim that the federation is being destroyed by one or another nation or nationality, religion, or culture. We understand and accept Yugoslavia as our state and will not allow it to be taken away from us, because we, like everyone else, have sacrificed enough for its formation and development," stressed Kucan.

All responsible political forces in Europe are also interested in Yugoslavia after Helsinki. They are interested in the democratic forces in Yugoslavia creating by democratic means the relations which will enable us to create a Europe at home, so that Europe can accept us economically, civilizationally, culturally, and politically. Kucan categorically repeated that Yugoslavia will be what we democratically and without coercion agree for it to be. Agreement will be reached by all of us who want to live in it as equal members.

Yugoslavia will have the powers granted to it by that agreement, stressed Kucan, and he added that it will carry them out efficiently and have the competence and mechanisms adequate for it.

At the end of the day, Kucan said, we are not going to negotiate on our common state's future system in order for it not to function, or in order to go on reaching new agreements about what it is. It would be morally suspect and beneath the dignity of the Slovene LC if we were to want the kind of common state which we, or someone else, could block at any moment or whose efficient functioning we could disable. However, such an agreement is only possible within the framework of a democratic order and the rule that no one nation, co-founder of the federation, may be outvoted. In the system which we have, there is only one position of power which can prevent both the beginning of democracy for the citizens and the preservation of the equality of nations, and that is the monopoly of power of the League of Communist of Yugoslavia [LCY]

It is clear that the Slovene LC cannot be at the same time a participant in democratic elections at which it submits to the will of the citizens voiced in its own republic and a partner in a monopolistic division of power which bypasses and is above the citizens and people of Yugoslavia. Thus, our minimal program for the LCY Congress is the shift of the entire LCY from a monopoly of power, in fact its separation from the state and its transformation into one of the factors of competitive political pluralism which will fight for power using the legitimate means of a law-governed state, Kucan said. All that is necessary is for all disagreements and clashes to be transfered from the party in power to the federal legislature where they belong and where they can be transformed from factional clashes over power alienated from the citizens into the promotion through dialogue of common development according to the rule of a democratic and legal order. Yugoslavia is without a doubt ready for such a transformation, Kucan said.

The demands for such a transformation are also being clearly heard wherever. In panic, direct elections, civil liberties and human rights, civil politics, the people's sovereignty, and calls for the subordination of any partisan and arbitrary government to legal order are being proclaimed as counter revolutionary and as serious crimes. In short, wherever democracy is experienced as a trauma and is denigrated as an egoistic Slovene national invention.

In his introductory address Kucan stressed that the fact cannot be overlooked that in the period between the two congresses the Slovene LC has been initiating and together with others creating the Slovene spring and the LC's own transformation from a force of power into a movement advocating European qualities of living. This is certainly something to be proud of. We can also be contented and proud of the fact that in spite of all the strains over this period we have managed to preserve, at least in our domestic sphere, a relative stability in political and social life, Milan Kucan said.

But, he resumed, the prime aim of the reform on which we agreed at the conference has not yet been achieved and the reform's first and essential phase has not been completed either. As we agreed then on the transformation, we set as an aim, a point where upon a return to old socialism would be impossible while the socialism to suit man would become a living and predominant possibility. Naturally, we could have not imagined then that we were going to encounter the fiercest resistance in the very

organization we historically belong to: The LCY and in particular some of its individual parts.

In Yugoslavia and Europe we are not so alone as to succumb to phobias and the belief that we are hated by everyone and consequently to search for the enemies everywhere, ones whom we would brutally fight without pardoning and send into oblivion. We have rather made efforts, Kucan said, to find understanding and support for our views and strategy and to enrich them with similar ideas from others.

Those who look for counterrevolution and see it in our place are only telling us by this finding that they do not like the paths of reform, democracy, a state based on the rule of law, the protection of human rights, social security, and stability. Instead of reforms they would like to impose on us the so-called antibureacratic revolution and a state of emergency suspending democracy and human rights.

Those who are trying to make us believe that we set out on a path of anticommunism have only told us that in their view communism stands for a monopoly of power.

Those who are reproaching us for tearing Yugoslavia apart have only told us by such words that in their view a federation of equal nations is an imposed community under the party state's dictatorship and the hegemony of the majority nation.

Those who claim that we are undemocratic have told us something we already know all too well: that a return to the old situation—even if that implies the complete loss of the credibility of socialist ideas and unrestrained violence—is still possible both in our country and in socialist Europe.

According to Kucan, the 10th congress has recognized that what we are living in is not socialism. The conditions under which we are living are becoming unbearable. The people's prospects are limited and their social security, material position, peace, and way of life are threatened. People are dissatisfied, dismayed at the growing uncertainty in the conditions of runaway inflation, at the waste of energy needed for ambitious social projects, and at the crisis of values. They have had enough of the illusion of freedom, political tyranny, the incitement of nation against nation, revanchism, and the constant ideological bickering which is being inflicted on a part of Yugoslavia.

They are against being forced into arguments over yesterday which consume their strength and will to resolve today's problems. They want to live their life according to their opportunities and not essentially any differently from the way people live in developed neighboring countries, and to create the basis for a better and kinder world and work for the future.

Kucan asked whether this sitution is not a great challenge for us; how could we immediately do something to achieve a life with democratic and human dimensions. How should we uncover in that dissatisfaction the forces of progress hidden in the great desire for changes. How should we win over people for the creation of what our program "Europe now" is trying to determine. It is not necessary for us to be condemned to such a life. In the name of great, but unfortunately indeterminable goals, still very far off in the future, we are no longer prepared to resign ourselves to such a life, neither we nor the many millions of people throughout Europe who up until now have shared a similar fate to us. A different kind of life does exist, Kucan stressed.

Socialism, or rather what has been represented as socialism, has not fulfilled the two great promises with which it entered history. These are more freedom and more democracy and the fairer satisfaction of all human needs. It is clear that socialism could not secure this by a complete break with and negation of solutions which originated in a bourgeois state, by overlooking the fact that this society is also changing and adopting many socialist values. This is even truer since—for example, understanding of human dignity and protection of civil rights and liberties, the equality of people, recognition of pluralism of ideas, interests and forms of ownership, economic and political competition, a law-governed state, the autonomy of civil society, science, culture, the market, and so on—these do not belong ideologically to the political label among the general achievements of civilization. This is the answer to the question which was posed in the debate on the congress program: whether this is a return to capitalism. Respect for the historic civilized achievements of past epochs is above all a correction of crude mistakes in the practice of socialist states, Kucan said.

In Milan Kucan's words the reason for the world crisis of socialism lies primarily with the bureaucratic adoption of this idea, its dogmatic monopolist interpretation, and often its authoritarian implementation. Bureaucratic arbitrariness and force did not stimulate the values indispensable to economic and business initiatives and intellectual creativity and innovation. The fear of backward processes, the restoration of retaliatory feelings and of the risk of competing ideas was all too strong. Undoubtedly, the longstanding authoritarian, bureaucratic, and dogmatic reality of socialist countries, ours included, has quenched that readiness for cooperation to create a better future under the name of socialism that permeated the Europe of the Paris Communards and Red Guards—and our national liberation struggle, too.

Nevertheless, the developments over recent years, following the first victory of conservativism, suggest that the liberating and humanitarian radiance of socialism will be preserved in European thought and take on new contents.

It should be also noted, Kucan maintains, that we managed at a rather early stage to avoid the extreme dangers of Stalinist misconception thanks to the fact that they had not had strong enough roots in our revolution. Nevertheless, we did not succeed in avoiding the dangers

of promoting our own socialist ideas and practices into dogmas. The challenges of the crisis, the one which is essentially a crisis of the existing model of socialism, cannot be tackled without renouncing some dogmatic notions in our political consciousness. There is still a great deal of this consciousness in the LC and in society in general.

The first and indispensable move at transcending our own dogmatic consciousness is to renounce the LC's vanguard role sanctioned by the Constitution and develop political pluralism as a starting point and precondition for our own program and action vitality, initiatives, and innovation. Political pluralism, including parties—which the Slovene LC accepts as its own realization and not as an imposed inevitability—is the precondition for the LC to be able to respond creatively to the challenges of the social situation in the country and the world and think in theoretical and practical terms about its own program commitments and, above all, about the existing model of socialism and its fundamental premises.

At the same time this is also the precondition for an action whereby the LC would be enabled to influence those trends in social development and social problems on which the creation of the model of democratic socialism decisively depends. We are not only striving to remove and replace the existing model while not changing and asserting political subjects, which will be able to democratically define socialism in its social and democratic aspects.

More than all the enemies together, it is our party political and ideological monopoly which has contributed to the ideopolitical, program-theoretical, action, and cadre invalidation of the LC and the revival of the creative ranges of those who were permitted to speak. "Factional" conflicts within the party, talk from a position of strength, and constant opposition to rights and to an even lesser extent to imagined opponents have been unable to be a substitute for political and party-political [stranacki] competition and equal dialogue. Restriction of dialogue by banning the opposition cannot in fact silence the anathematized.

The practice so characteristic for parties-cum-victors which easily lose their moral capital in an uncontrolled way and through arbitrariness has led to the fact that the party was less concerned about those whom the revolution left behind than those who mutilated it by bureaucratically usurping it ideologically, morally, and politically.

In keeping with these thoughts, Milan Kucan proposed to the congress that it take a critical view of all the tragic and shameful deeds and sorrowful consequences of the triumphalist political and notional principle "whoever is not with us is against us" and of our organization's political practice conceived along these lines. This practice has eliminated from political, as well as social and professional life—and anathematized—many decent and creative people, members and nonmembers of the LC, and has hampered them politically and characterized them, and has disqualified them on a personal level and usurped their good name; and quite often it has also sent, together with them, those nearest them into the machinery of the repressive apparatus of the then political-and-party state, because they held a different view and dared to express it. This still relates particularly to intellectuals who think differently and to peasant farmers and those small owners who, through the Stalinism which violently generated the ideology of our National Liberation struggle and revolution, were aggressively and arrogantly emasculated as capitalist bourgeoisie, though during the national liberation struggle they were to a large extent its economic and social basis.

Kucan stressed that what is needed is bold, critical, and objective thinking about the past which will, through general civilization-orientated criteria and present knowledge, draw a demarcation line between the positive and the negative and restore dignity and a political and human completeness to people who in political settling of scores have remained characterized and anathematized as being to blame.

I propose, Kucan said, that we condemn this practice which has affected many people, the entire nation's dignity and the dignity of the Communist Party of Slovenia and the Slovene LC as its heir, and, in advance, decisively dismiss its right to exist in our organization. We should ensure that such a thing is never repeated by our advocacy of and action for democracy in society. We should apologize to all those who have been affected by such behavior in the name of our organization, and we should concern ourselves to the greatest extent with eliminating as much as possible both the human and material consequences of our previous flamboyant owner-style action.

For these reasons, political pluralism is vitally needed as an internal check on the system, as a check on the action of state and political structures, and as a necessary corrective to the LC, Yugoslav, and Slovene society as a whole, Milan Kucan assessed.

The LC is not the judge and holder of power which might lay down the rules as to the kind of organizational and legal functions in which political pluralism is possible. It is significant, Kucan stressed, that the party political form of political pluralism will not be the only possible form of people's entry into political life and decisionmaking. This would also be a peculiar kind of tyranny over people, just as it was a tyranny when only one party was the exclusive possibility for their political affirmation and activity. Thus we advocate political pluralism, and also the party political form of this pluralism, above all the full freedom and influence of state initiative as the fundamental form of and condition for affirming civil society.

Democracy is the essential dimension of socialism, and socialism is increasingly becoming the essential element of democracy in highly developed societies. For Slovene and Yugoslav society there is no alternative with regard to this if we want to avoid the dangerous rocks of totalitarian desires to return to a past which, through impoverishment and demands for a just division of poverty, will exacerbate to the utmost the relations between people and nations, Kucan said.

The dilemma which we have tried to bypass for a long time is in fact a challenge, Kucan continued. According to him, this is a decision between security and insecurity. If socialism will not change, it will certainly be the end of it, while if it changes perhaps it will not be the end of it, at least in the traditional understanding of it. However, there remains the possibility of a new one emerging—one which suits the individual, people, and mankind. An uncertain search which involves risks is better than certain slow death.

There is a real danger that in the present extremely exacerbated political and economic conditions and relations within the LCY itself, we precisely bypass this dilemma, Kucan said. He believes that there is obvious pressure to affirm—instead of the search for a possible way to overcome the crisis—the logic of a classical-political conflict between individuals and leaderships, or rather political groups. What is important in this is only who will defeat whom and who will impose his ideas on whom. It is possible to defend and preserve a "victory" in this conflict, won in this way only by providing refuge for the party under the wing of a political state, whereby once again it becomes the subject of the authoritarian resolution of the social crisis which negates the law-governed state and oversees Yugoslavia's fate by using a repressive mechanism.

According to Kucan, this would be "a backward reform," or to put it more directly, a reactionary turnabout. Its consequences are well known to us. It is precisely now, after the so-called "descent of truth"—naturally the one and only descent—that we are confronted by it in the most brutal way. Kucan added that in fact nothing should be added in Slovenia on this topical and dramatic conflict in Yugoslavia to what has already been said in the Slovene Assembly. However, it should be said, without beating about the bush, that acceptance of this logic and practice as a legitimate way of settling relations in Yugoslavia would certainly be its end.

It is worth repeating our standpoint. This is in no way a conflict between two leaderships, two nations, or two republics. This is only the external appearance of a profound clash between two opposing views of the content, form, and relations of life together. It is a matter of a dispute, the seeds of which lie in all parts of Yugoslav society. This dispute could be recognized at all the congresses and LC conferences to date. It is obvious that no one can remain on the sidelines in this conflict. No one who has the future of Yugoslavia and socialism at heart can free himself from the responsibility of whether the dispute will be resolved by democratic means and in a democratic way or by diktat and repression.

The amendments to the constitution of the SR of Slovenia were not adopted to protect Slovene separatism, but to protect the democratic nature of the Yugoslav Federation, Milan Kucan stressed. Yugoslavia has been brought to the brink of civil war. The arrogant, aggressive, and ultimatum-style policy, which we are not opposing because of opportunism, and we are not prepared to call it by its true name, has for 2 years now been maintaining tension and conflicts in Yugoslavia. They are destabilizing the state and exhausting creative forces to resolve the crisis and eliminate poverty and the causes of increasingly large-scale and justified dissatisfaction. I do not believe, Kucan said, that the consequences of such a policy must be our fate. They have been imposed on us by those who, in the name of the injustice allegedly inflicted on their people by the 1974 Constitution and its authors, demand that they and their interests be the only criterion for being Yugoslav-orientated.

I believe, Kucan stressed, that this can only be our voluntary, democratically ordered life together, the basis of which and the justification for which is commonly perceived interests and not some presumed interests or interests formed to suit one nation. No one accepts anyone in such a community of equal peoples. No one can be driven out of it. No one can be forced to remain within it. This would run counter to people's democratic, natural, and unconsumed right to self-determination, which also includes the right to association and secession as set out in the normative part of the first Slovene postwar constitution and which was repeated in the amendments to the Constitution of the SR of Slovenia adopted this year.

Obviously this imposition of the interests and methods of a particular Greater National Separatism is to the detriment of Yugoslavia, and each part of it separately threatens to sever agreements which have integrated us within the SFRY. This is the blockade of Yugoslavia, which relates to the overall economy which is connected and dependent in terms of production and business operations. The whole society and ultimately thousands of people and their families have been affected by the fall in social production. Economic ties have been severed which, despite the essentially dislocated market in Yugoslavia, were nevertheless its strongest integrating links.

The fact is, Kucan added, that this act is unconstitutional and in a law-governed state it is incomprehensible that it should remain without any kind of measures being undertaken. The federal organs knew in good time what was going on and could have taken measures at the right time. If someone had already naively doubted the true aim of the meeting in Ljubljana, then his doubt had to be dispelled by the words and quite unambiguous stance of the president of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia in the Serbian Assembly. The boycott is no deed of a sociopolitical organization which is binding on no one, but is an

act of the highest organs of authority. Political will prevailed over economic interests.

Speaking about the alleged violation of human rights in Slovenia, Milan Kucan said that this was a matter of protecting the citizens of the SR of Slovenia, who simply did not want such a protest meeting in Ljubljana, and they did not invite those in favor of the protest meeting; they clearly said this in their demands to the Republic's organs, especially in the Assembly. They acceded to the restriction of rights, which also applied to them, so that the competent organs might be able, on the basis of the law, to protect public order and peace and people's lives.

Kucan also said that the appeal by the president of the federal government merits full support and that mutual disputes should be forgotten and all energy invested in the reforms' success. There is now justified hope that the appeal will result in deeds which will suspend the economic war which is being waged against Slovenia. In addition to this, it should nevertheless also be asked without affectation whether in our federation some are more equal than others and what the consequences of this could be for our future life.

After the declaration of the blockade on Slovenia, Yugoslavia no longer is, and cannot be, what it was. We all, Slovenes included, are faced by the primeval task of determining afresh the content and mutual relations in our common state. The constitutional and legal format in which the common interests in such a life will be realized will be subordinated to this. One thing is sure: The notion of a Yugoslavia as an extended Serbia, which according to its will others can be adjoined, is not acceptable to us. A Yugoslavia which could only suit Slovenia would not be acceptable either, especially not a Yugoslavia to suit individual Slovene extreme nationalist and separatist notions.

The common state must suit and be in the interests of everyone. Yugoslavia should be such that no republic and not one people feel it to be a tyranny hanging over them, or feel it in terms of a loss of scope and responsibility for the realization of any of their vital interests—in other words their sovereign functions, Kucan stressed. However, this envisages our capability and readiness to live as a community and at the same time with our differences.

The forms of relations which might be imposed on the community would certainly mean the beginning of its end. Such a viewpoint is not tolerated by the opportunist standpoint, that in weighing up the two visions in Yugoslavia, neither the "Serbian" nor the "Slovene" extreme, which allegedly are breaking up the common state, are acceptable.

In terms of our orientation, it is not possible to frighten us. We will persist in this orientation and affirm it by democratic means, because it stems from our circumstances and the interests of our people and the citizens of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, Milan Kucan said.

Analyzing the constitution of the SR of Slovenia, Milan Kucan said that it is the basis for preparing a new constitution elaborated by the presidency of the Slovene state and made public. Even prior to its publication, the Slovene Council for the Constitution heralded its lack of confidence in this basis. Is this merely political prestige, blindness in the struggle for power, or something else?, Kucan asked. How, otherwise, can one understand the ultimatum-style demand that a rejection of its proposals—and the a priori doubt that it could be different at all—will mean that the Slovene authorities and party are not thinking seriously about democratizing society and the state, Kucan added.

This a priori doubt—an already many-times tried and tested pattern of disputing the political and moral legitimacy of the Slovene authorities, which was always loudly offered just prior to the decisive events of the last two years in Yugoslavia—coincides in an unusual way with the logic of the protest meeting policy that the Slovene people are good, that they have only been led astray, that their eyes should be opened, and then their bureaucratic and alienated leadership will fall of its own accord. It is precisely this leadership which, with delegates of the Slovene Assembly, elected and legitimized on the basis of currently applicable laws—whether the present Serbian political leadership, the Slovene Council for the Constitution, or anyone else recognized it or not—has demonstrated that it knows what the interests of the Slovene people and citizens of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia are, and how they should be affirmed and protected.

This is why the Slovene LC Central Committee recently proposed that the ultimatum-style increase in pressure on the SR of Slovenia's legitimate organs should be replaced by argued discussion of what we can do together to protect democratic reform in Slovenia and in Yugoslavia, Kucan said. The Slovene LC Central Committee is determined that instead of the constant testing of the Slovene Assembly's legitimacy with the political pressures by the opposition—to whom this legitimacy is debatable, and which wants to rectify this by its entry into the assembly without elections—it would propose that immediately after the adoption of the electoral law, this legitimacy would be put to the test in early free elections which will determine both for us and others our real political weight, Kucan stressed.

The forces for the destruction of democratic Yugoslavia need—and they have long been provoking it—only one unreasonable step on our part, which would accept the logic of exacerbation and giving like for like. Part of our opposition is clearly ready to take such a step, convinced that someone else will pay the price. They are certainly not mistaken in that, because it will be the Slovenes who will pay with the loss of the barely won space for democracy, national sovereignty, and equality within the SFRY and its existing constitutional system. Such an epilogue is possible, Kucan said, but whether it will happen depends primarily on us, our maturity as citizens, and our responsibility.

Central Committee Elected

LD2412000289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2052 GMT 23 Dec 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 23 Dec (TANJUG)—According to the Election Commission's report 384 delegated voted for members of the new Slovene League of Communists Central Committee [LC CC]. There were 370 valid and 14 invalid votes.

The following are members of the Slovene LC CC: Milan Kucan (364), Zivko Pregl (360), Franci Pivec (357), Sonja Lokar (348), Ciril Ribicic (347), Peter Bekes (344), Boris Muzevic (344), Polde Bibic (341), Matjaz Mulej (332), Ciril Baskovic (329), Robert Cerne (326), Martina Kolar (325), Herman Rigelnik (325), Borut Pahor (320), Milos Prosenc (319), Janez Bohoric (316), Lojze Ude (314), Branko Greganovic (312), Lenart Setinc (311), Milan Balazic (308), Aurelio Jurij (306), Silvo Komar (306), Vilma Mancek (291), Milan Bratec (290), Boris Zakrajsek (286), Matija Skof (283), Joze Miklavc (282), Alenka Kovsc (281), Avgust Majreic (280), Bozidar Gorjan (278), Tatiana Juratovec (277), Metka Tekavcic (276), Franc Pipan (272), Danilo Slivnik (272), Sonja Kralj (267), Bojan Polak-Stjenka (265), Anton Andelic (263), Zeljko Cigler (262), Marija Bezjak (260), Majda Ivnik (253), Stanislav Bacar (252), Joze Utenkar (251), Stojan Kokosar (250), Bogomir Ferfila (245), Miro Glas (244), Joze Korinsek (243), Anuska Stiftar (242), Franc Hudej (241), Marjan Bevcan (237), Marta Vahcic (237), Ksenija Turk (236), Maks Tajnikar (234), Lujzka Sprajc (233), Dusanka Gracanin (231), Bozo Kuharic (230), Vilko Jelen (288), Bruno Korelic ()227), Dusan Vodeb (226), Igor Mezek (224), Boris Sovic (223), Milan Torkar (222), Alojz Gojcic (218), Gvido Melking (218), Milan Lokar (216) and Stefka Preskar (215).

Party Advertises Its Congress

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[Editorial Report] Ljubljana DELO in Slovene on 22 December on page 11 carries a full-page advertisement for the 11th Congress of the League of Communists of Slovenia which, under the banner "Europe Now!" and the subhead "11th Congress of the League of Communists of Slovenia, Ljubljana, 22-23 December 1989," carries the following text in large display type:

"We are not condemned to a life as we now live: sunk in poverty, an unhappy reality, dissatisfaction, uncertainty, and an illusion of freedom.

"Life can be different, at least like the life people live in developed neighboring countries. Let us do something now. We want to and we must get into Europe! Europe, where the outlines of our old continent's future can already be discerned, friendly to the people and with open borders.

"We wish to join Europe with Yugoslavia! With all those who do not look away when we offer our hand in friendship; those who are not entering the 21st century in order to stand in bread lines, clad in rags and with bowed heads. Nobody will prevent us joining. We owe this to our history and to our children. We have decided for it according to our conscience and our reason in the name of that freedom which was not granted to us to be used once only and which is determined merely by the freedom we acknowledge to others.

"In this conviction, all of us men of good will expect the coming New Year in Slovenia and Yugoslavia!

"[Signed] Milan Kucan"